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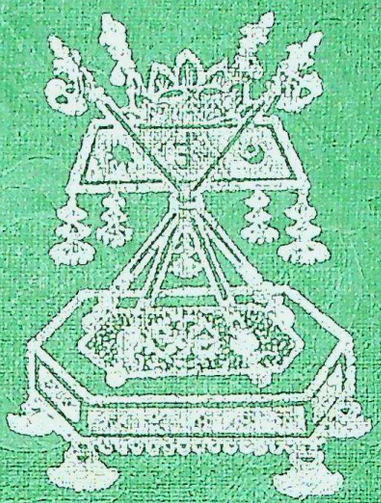

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JAIN ART PUBLICATION SERIES No. 1

JAIN MINIATURE PAINTINGS FROM WESTERN INDIA

BY

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Curator, Art Section
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

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[redacted]

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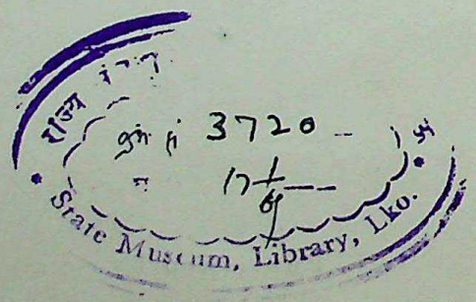

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FOREWORD

I have the pleasure in presenting the first number of the series "Jain Art Publication" entitled *Jain Miniature Painting from Western India.* I am sure that with the publication of this book a new chapter in the history of Indian painting will be opened. The miniatures accompanying the work were obtained specially from the Jain Bhaṇḍārs at Ahmedābād, Pāṭan, Jaisalmer, Jirá (Panjab), Cambay, etc., and the collections of Maharaja Shri Punyavijayaji and myself. I am greatly obliged to various Bhaṇḍārs and other private collectors who have placed at my disposal their rich collections from which a judicious selection was made for this book.

I am thankful to Dr. Moti Chandra, Curator, Art Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, who, though engaged in multifarious activities, agreed to write the book for me. I hope the art historians will particularly appreciate his researches in the technique of Western Indian painting and the history of Western Indian costume.

My reason in dedicating this work to Sheth Maneklal Chunilal is that he has ungrudgingly extended his help in all my publications. Without his financial help my activities as a publisher would have remained an empty dream.

Magh Sudi Panchami, Sunday
15*th February*, 1948.

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Fig. 1

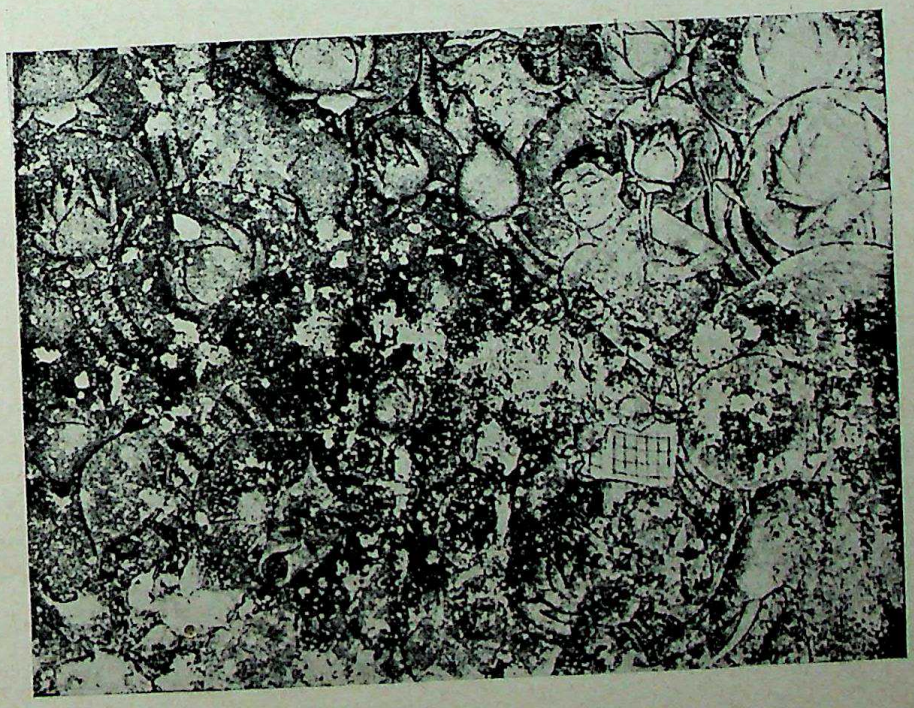

Fig. 2

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Fig. 3

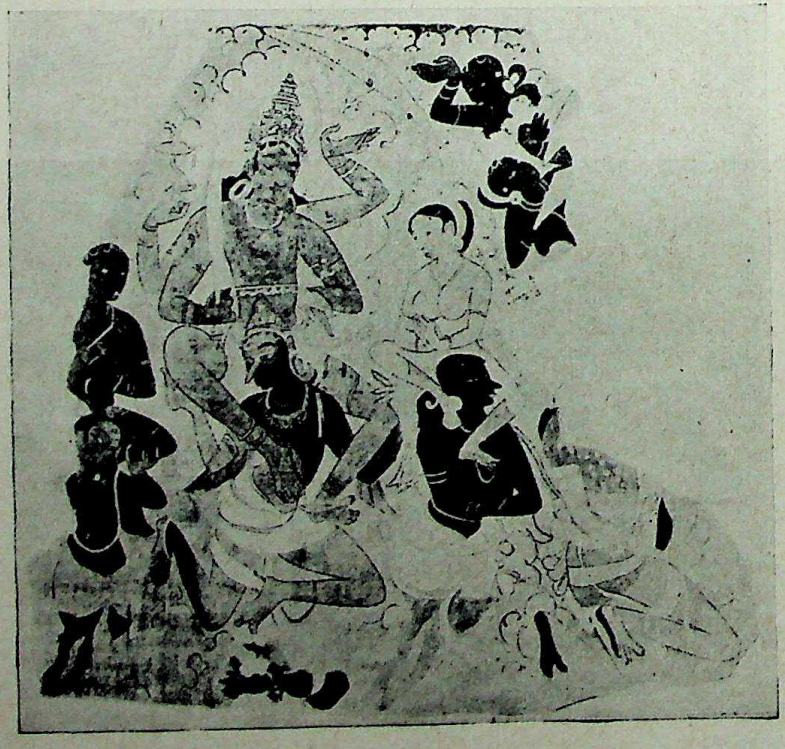

Fig. 4

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INTRODUCTION

THE study of Western Indian painting is of very recent growth, and before Dr. Coomaraswamy wrote his article on Jain painting in 1914[1], little was known of its existence. After the publication of the *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part IV*, by the same author in 1924, the study of Western Indian painting received a great impetus and various scholars, such as Dr. W. Norman Brown, Mr. N. C. Mehta, Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Mr. Ajit Ghose and Dr. M. R. Majumdar, joined hands in discovering new documents of Western Indian painting and throwing light on their technical and æsthetic achievements. Their researches have given us a chronological sequence in the development of Western Indian painting and also the distinguishing features of its technique. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab has been the last in the field and his work on Western Indian painting, named *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma* in Gujarātī, published at Ahmedābād in 1935, besides giving us a very good account of Western Indian painting, introduces us to hitherto unknown illustrated manuscripts hidden away in the most inaccessible Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs. The new material which he has given to us not only enhances our knowledge of Western Indian painting, but in some cases is æsthetically much superior to the stereotyped paintings already published. The beautiful border decorations of the *Kalpasūtras* published by him show that Western Indian painters in the late 15th and early 16th centuries were great decorators. The most outstanding part of the *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma* is the introductory essay by that veteran Jain scholar Muni Punyavijayajī on Jaina monastic culture and palæography. This essay is a mine of information on the art of writing and the materials employed in preparing books. It gives us valuable information about the palm-leaf, paper and cloth, the methods of preparing various types of inks and colours, and a history of the Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs.

Since the publication of the *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Sarabhai Nawab has not remained quiet but has been collecting new materials which distinctly advance our knowledge of Western Indian painting. The recent discovery of the painted wooden book-covers by Muni Jinavijayajī from the famous Bhaṇḍār at Jaisalmer also adds much to our knowledge of Western Indian painting. The accumulation of all this material necessitated a critical study of all the fresh documents and Sarabhai Nawab entrusted the work to me. While going through the new material I was prompted to examine afresh the material already published by Dr. Norman Brown

1. *Journal of Indian Art*, No. 127, London, 1914.

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and Sarabhai Nawab. The result of all these enquiries has been incorporated into the present work.

I have always believed that Western Indian painting was not an individual phenomenon confined to Rājputānā and Gujarāt but a part of the common art movement in medieval India. I have tried to show from the wall-paintings from Mālwā, the Deccan, Southern India and Pagan that they were inspired with a linear conception which was probably of Western Indian origin.

For a thorough understanding of Western Indian painting it is necessary to have a knowledge of the technical process involved. The *Mānasollāsa*, a work of encyclopædic nature written in the twelfth century, is of great help in understanding the contemporary technique of painting. There is a full description of colours which I have supplemented from the colour formulas found by Muni Punyavijayajī.

In the course of my studies I also found that the miniatures from Western India conserve rich material for the study of Western Indian costumes and textile designs. It is remarkable that in the 12th century the people of Western India wore half-sleeved jackets and shorts, though later on these were supplanted by the Indian *dhotī* and *chādar*. The women wore *cholī*, *sārī* and scarves. The skirt makes its appearance in the middle of the 14th century and was extensively used by the dancing girls in the 15th century.

Gujarāt, as we know, was a great centre of calico printing, and it exported printed calico to Africa and Asiatic countries from the 11th to 16th century. No textile material has survived from this period in Gujarāt proper, and the only source for the knowledge of the patterns and colours employed by the textile printers of Gujarāt are these paintings. That the painters took the designs from the contemporary art of textile printing is supported by the actual appearance of such designs on the contemporary printed calico pieces from Gujarāt discovered in the sands of Fustāt in Egypt.

We have mentioned in the first chapter that no traces of Western Indian school of painting prior to the early twelfth century are found in its homeland and that for its earlier history we have to depend on the wall-paintings of Ellura. This paucity of the documents of Western Indian school of painting in Gujarāt and Rājputānā may be attributed to the destruction of the artistic monuments by the onslaught of the Muslims who wreaked the vengeance of their iconoclastic zeal on Hindu temples and palaces. In these centuries of storm and stress, precious documents of Western Indian school of painting on palm-leaf and cloth were irretrievably lost. Fortunately, a part of such documents of Western Indian art has been saved to us and the credit for its safe preservation goes to the Śvetāmbara Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs. It would not be out of place here to say something more about these ancient libraries which have preserved to the posterity invaluable documents of Indian culture.

The foundation of the Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs, paradoxically enough, is attributed to a terrible famine which occurred in the 5th century A.D. As a result of this famine,

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a majority of the Jain monks, well versed in the sacred lore, died. To add to this disaster, this century also witnessed the weakening of the memory of the Jain monks, due perhaps to malnutrition. If, therefore, the sacred Jain lore was to be saved from complete extinction some drastic steps had to be taken. Feeling the urgency of the occasion a council of the Jain monks under the presidency of Devardhigaṇi Kshamā-Śramaṇa was summoned in Vīra Samvat 980 (V. S. 510 or 570, according to Jacobi, *i.e.*, A. D. 453 or 513) to Valabhīpura in Kāṭhiāwār, and with the common consent of the monks assembled there, the Jain Aṅgas and Upāṅgas were committed to writing.[2] The cryptic notices of this council in Jain literature, however, do not tell us anything as to how these books were written, what materials were employed, what technique in book writing was followed and how they were kept in the Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs. One thing is, however, certain that learning received a great impetus in the following centuries, and there is every likelihood that many Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs were established which acted as custodians of the sacred literature.

From the study of the biographies of the great supporters of Jainism after the 10th century, it is evident that the Jain monks had realised the great educational value of the Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs. They took great pains in explaining to the Jain intelligentsia the importance of the religious texts and the works of the great masters ; the religious susceptibilities of the common folk was stirred by pointing to them the holiness of the ancient texts, and to those, who cared more to see their names in the colophons than anything else, the temptation of perpetuating their names to the posterity was held out. Besides these measures, several functions, such as, Jñānapūjā, etc., were held from time to time to keep up the interest of laymen in learning. Actuated by the above considerations, the great Jain kings, their ministers and bankers, for the expatiation of their sins, or for hearing the recitation of their religious literature, or for the spiritual welfare of their selves or their departed kith and kin, ordered the composition of new works, or purchased the disbursed Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs and presented such collections to their revered teachers.[3]

Siddharāja Jayasiṁha (1094–1143 A. D.) and Kumārapāla (1143–1174 A. D.), the famous rulers of Gujarāt, were also great patrons of learning. It is said of Jayasiṁha that he employed three hundred scribes to copy out books on religious and secular matters for the Imperial Library.[4] It is said that numerous copies of the *Siddhahaima Vyākaraṇa* were prepared by the order of the king and distributed among the scholars in different parts of India. Kumārapāla is said to have established 21 Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs, in every one of which he placed a copy of the *Kalpasūtra* written in golden ink.[5]

Among the great ministers of state who founded the Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs may be mentioned Vastupāla-Tejapāla, Pethaḍsāh, Maṇḍana Mantrī, and others.

---

2. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Bhāratīya Jain Śramaṇa Samskṛti and lekhana kalā, pp. 14–15.
3. *Ib.*, I, pp. 90–91.
4. *Prabhāvakacharita*, Hemachandra Prabandha.
5. *Ib.*, p. 92.

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Vastupāla-Tejapāla became interested in the Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs on the advice of his teachers Vijayasena Sūri and Udayaprabha Sūri.[6] Pethaḍ Sāh, the minister of Māṇḍogaṛh, founded Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs in seven cities including Broach.[7]

The credit for preserving the manuscripts in a large measure, however, goes to bankers and merchants. Actuated by the desire of service to their faith, they ordered the copying of innumerable manuscripts both illustrated and otherwise, and it is solely due to their efforts that so many documents of Western Indian painting are preserved for us.

It is remarkable that in the Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs not only Jain books were kept, but also books of different faiths for criticism and comparison and ready reference. This shows that the Jain monks in the middle ages were not narrow-minded communalists, but understood the importance of an all comprehensive library. It would not be an exaggeration to say that they were the torch-bearers of Indian civilization in the dark ages.

The Jñāna Bhaṇḍār is an institution which is a part and parcel of the Śvetāmbara Jain community and there are hundreds of such Bhaṇḍārs with small or large collections of manuscripts all over Gujarāt and Mārwār. The most important of these Bhaṇḍārs are Sanghavī no pāḍāno Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, Śāntināth Jñāna Bhaṇḍār of Cambay and the Jñāna Bhaṇḍār of Jaisalmer. These Bhaṇḍārs are famous for their collections of palm-leaf manuscripts from the 11th to 15th century. The less important Bhaṇḍārs have paper manuscripts dating from the 15th to 17th century. All these Bhaṇḍārs are joint property of the Śvetāmbara Jain community which meets all charges for their upkeep.

In the understanding of a particular school of painting historical data is incidental, its chief appeal lying in its æsthetic appeal. Unfortunately, there are divergent views about the æsthetic appeal of Western Indian school. One view praises its primitive vigour, strong draughtsmanship and pristine colours, while others see in them signs of decadence. The true æsthetic appreciation of this school, however, lies somewhere midway between these two extreme views. There is little doubt that the early palm-leaf illustrations are imbued with a sense of direct expression which is a characteristic of the primitives. In the course of time, however, the early formulas are hardened into conventions which are repeated with such mechanical precision that the paintings loose much of their æsthetic significance. Some of the sixteenth century manuscripts are, however, distinguished by their beautiful border decorations. The patterns are drawn from the rich repertoire of temple decoration and the painters have not neglected the contemporary decorative motifs from Islamic architecture and book-painting. The treatment of dancing girls framed against floral background is very pleasing. The figure composition in the carefully executed manuscripts are well balanced, but the inordinate

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6. *Upadeśataraṅgiṇī*, p. 142.

7. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 93.

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Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

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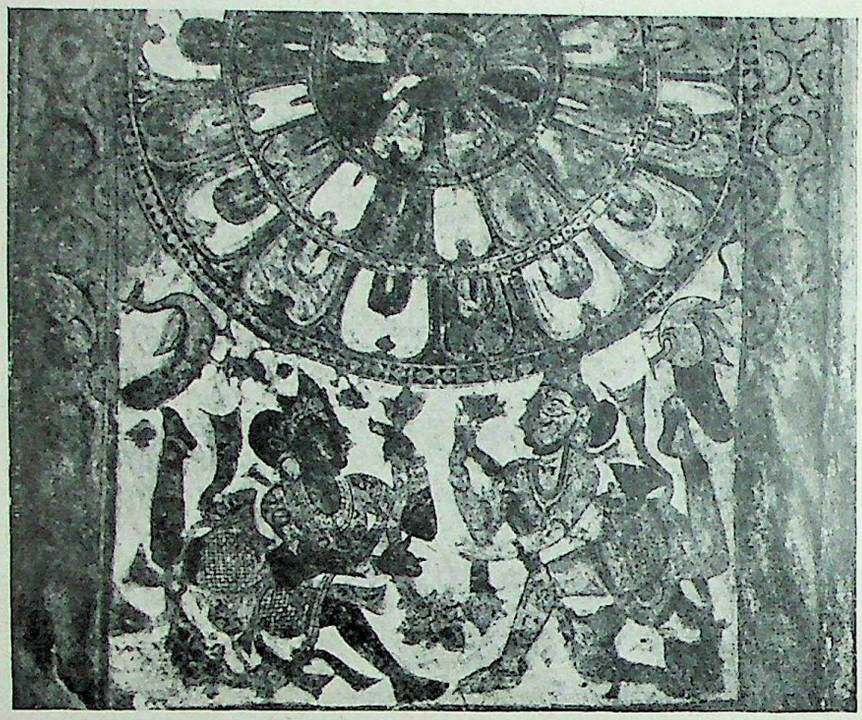

Fig. 8

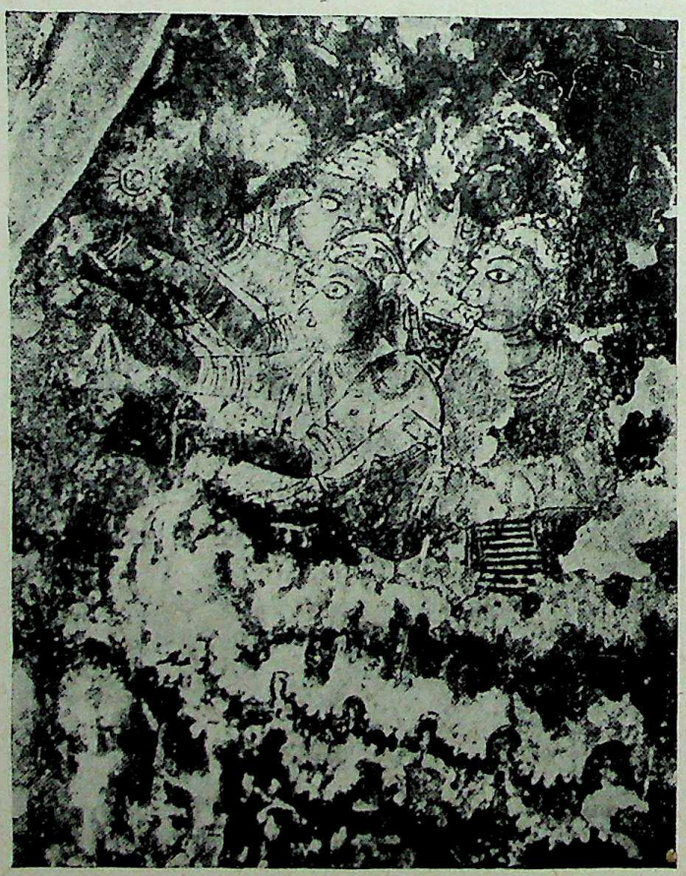

Fig. 9

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use of gold mars the harmony of colours. In the ordinary illustrated manuscripts, however, the conventions are followed with such rigidity that the manuscripts appear to be the printed copies of the original. These copies must have been turned out to meet the popular demand which wanted to gain religious merit without being out of pocket by large sums.

Western Indian painting could be roughly divided into three periods: palm-leaf period, paper period and late period. In the first two periods Western Indian school retains its distinguishing characteristics, but in the third which begins in the 17th century those characteristics, such as angularity in drawing, protuberance of the farther eye, etc., are lost under the Mughal influence, and Western Indian school merges in the general trend of Indian art. I have left this third phase out of the scope of my book as it should find its rightful place in some work on Rājpūt painting.

In conclusion, I want to express my heartfelt thanks to Mr. Sarabhai Nawab, without whose co-operation this work would not have seen the light of day. He has not only supplied me with new material, but also helped me in understanding the various points of Jain iconography. My thanks are also due to Muni Jinavijayaji for allowing us to make use of the rich material from Jaisalmer Bhaṇḍār and to Mr. J. Jacobs for going through the proofs.

BOMBAY,
15th February 1948.

MOTI CHANDRA.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

PAINTING in ancient India was a favourite mode of expression in art. There are innumerable references to painting in the contemporary literature which show that the art of painting had reached the highest degree of excellence both from the technical and æsthetic points of view. It is evident from literature that there were guilds of painters, which were commissioned to decorate the palaces and temples with excellent wall-paintings. Painting was also considered as an accomplishment of princes, nobles and highly placed citizens, and formed a part of the regular curriculum of studies. Not only men but also women of high social status attained proficiency in this gentle art, and there are many love stories in which the lovers are shown assuaging their grief of separation by means of the portraits of their beloved.

This predilection for painting must have resulted in the production of a good number of paintings in ancient India, but unfortunately the levelling hand of time, the destructible nature of carriers, such as wood, cloth and plaster, and the vandalism of men have caused their destruction to such an extent that the examples of ancient Indian paintings could be counted on fingers. In the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh, Sittannavāsal, and a few remaining wall-paintings from Badāmī one may see, however, the greatness of the ancient Indian pictorial art. In the neatness of drawing, in the marvellous manipulation of a few simple colours made to yield various tonalities, and in the high æsthetic considerations which moved the artists, Indian painting in the fifth and sixth centuries remains unparalleled. In these wall-paintings one may see the culminating point of that pagan art which begins at Bharhut, develops at Sānchī and attains tempestuous movement and emotional value at Amarāvatī. Divine contemplation, probing the dark mysteries of life, is not the key-note of the pictorial art of the Gupta period though the contemporary art of sculpture had already imbibed the ideal of lofty spiritualism. It would be idle to deny that the art of Ajaṇṭā does not imbibe spirituality to a certain extent, specially in the noble figures of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the supreme gift of the Gupta age. But the purpose of an art could not be defined on such features of unusual occurrence. The art of Ajaṇṭā delights in the scenes of love-making, drinking parties, sumptuous palaces and crowded processions.

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The artists delighted in the study of man as they saw him, his pleasures and pains, his beliefs, and his pastimes and amusements. They painted men as they were and not as they should have been. The eventful life of the Blessed One, not only when he was born as Gautama, but also in his previous existences, afforded a right background to the painters, and they seized every incident in the life of Buddha to depict contemporary manners and customs of the people among whom they moved. In short, the pictorial art of the Gupta age is fully representative of the life and culture of the people; abstraction finds little scope in it.

The wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh, and Sittannavāsal are religious in the sense that the first two decorate Buddhist *Vihāras* and the third a Jain temple, and, therefore, they had to conform to certain religious traditions and certain hide-bound formulas peculiar to each faith. Of the frankly secular art of the early period about which we read so much in the contemporary literature, and which delighted in portraiture, we have no trace. Let us, therefore, see what the Jain literature has to say about painting.

The legendary account attributes the origin of the art of painting (*chitta-kamma*) to Ṛshabhadeva, the first Jain Tīrthaṁkara, from whom are also said to have originated the sciences of mathematics and symbology.[1] As painting originated from Ṛshabha himself the profession of a painter was not stigmatised. A painter (*chittāra*) was counted among the Silpāryas and his profession was held to be a noble one.[2]

In the formative period of the Jain church, monks, in common with the Buddhist monks, were forbidden to live in the houses decorated with paintings. This injunction seems to have been due to the sensuous appeal of painting which detracted the minds bent upon meditation. Thus it is mentioned in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[3] that a Jain monk did not like to live in a beautiful house decorated with painting, fumigated and perfumed with incense and flower garlands, and fitted with doors and white ceiling. At another place,[4] it is enjoined that a monk should not look towards the figure of a woman either in a painting or actual life. In the *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra*[5] a ban is laid upon the monks and nuns indulging in the art of painting (*sachitta kamma*). In the *Bhāṣya*[6], however, which is a much later work, the subject of painting is divided under two heads—(1) *Nirdosa chitra-karma* or pure painting consists of painting of trees, mountains, rivers, seas, buildings, creepers, Pūrṇa-Kalaśa, Svastika, etc.; (2) the *Sadoṣa chitra* or impure paintings are those of flying figures, goddesses and ordinary women. The practice of both kinds of paintings was forbidden to monks. This injunction, however, seems to have been relaxed in the middle ages when the Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs became the repositories of many painted manuscripts and banners.

There are numerous references in Jain literature which give interesting descriptions of the decorative motifs and the technical process involved in painting, and also good

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1. *Āvaśyaka Chūrṇi*, p. 156, Ratlam, 1928.
2. *Praśna Vyākaraṇa*, Sū. 70, Vol. I, pp. 175–176.
3. *Uttarādhyayana* Sū., XXV, 4.
4. *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, VIII, 4.
5. *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra*, III, p. 689.
6. *Ib.*, II, SS. 2429—50.

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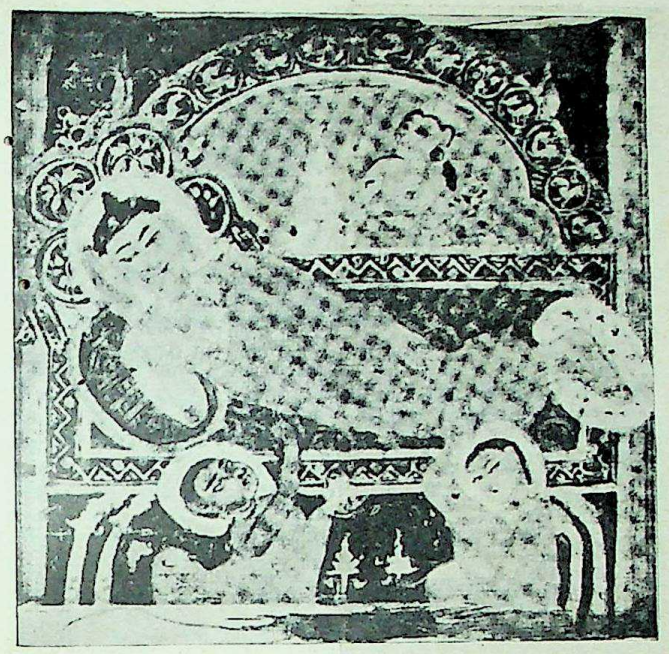

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

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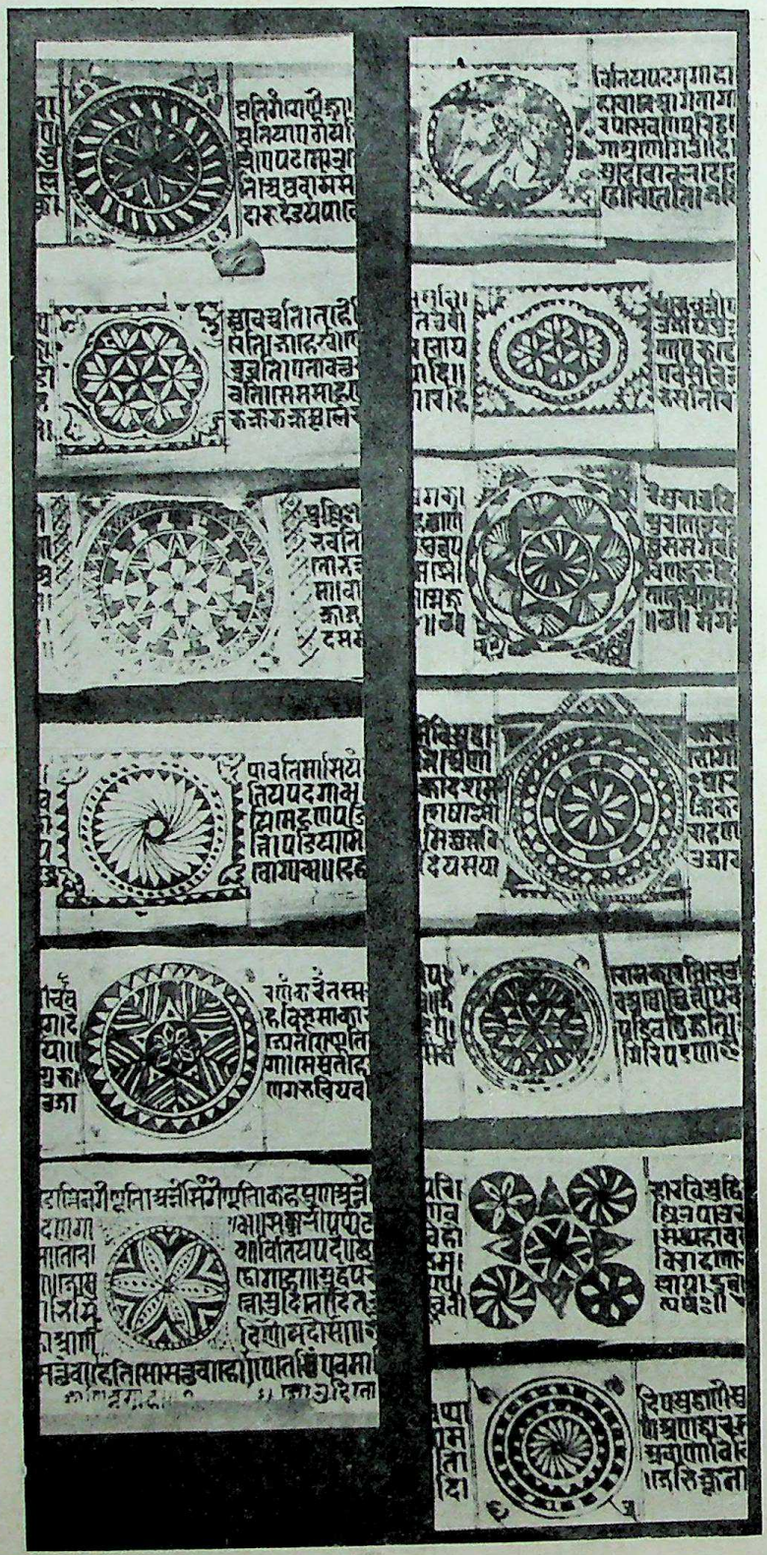

Fig. 13

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descriptions of picture galleries. Thus it is mentioned at one place[7] that the ceiling of Dhariṇīdevi's palace was painted with lotus rhizomes and flowering creepers (*phulla-vallī-vara-puppha-jāi-ulloya-chittaya-tale*)[7]. At another place[8] very interesting details of the construction of a picture gallery are given. Malladinna, the crown prince of Mithilā, ordered the erection of a picture gallery (*chitta-sabhā*) at the royal amusement park. He entrusted the work of painting to a painters' guild (*chittagāraseṇim*) and asked its members to paint the gallery in such a way that the forms (*rūvehi*) should be frankly sensuous. The painters taking their brushes (*tūliāo*) and colours (*vaṇṇae*) proceeded to the proposed picture gallery. There they divided the wall-surface (*bhūmibhāge*) and prepared the ground (*bhūmi sajjei*). One of the master painters was so gifted that he could paint complete figures of men and animals even if he had only their partial view. This rare gift nearly ended in a tragedy. The painter once had the glimpse of the toes of Princess Malli protruding from behind the curtain and was able to paint her full portrait. The crown prince doubting the chastity of his sister banished him from his kingdom.

Then the picture gallery (*chitta-sabhā*) of a courtezan who also seems to have been a psychologist is mentioned.[9] The story runs that there was a courtezan well versed in the traditional sixty-four arts who had a picture gallery in which she had the portraits of all classes of men engaged in different professions appropriate to their respective castes and in different states of anger and appeasement. If any one came to engage her services she asked him first to visit her picture gallery so that she could judge from his reactions his caste, his taste in arts, and handicrafts the wickedness and strength of his character, so that she could behave with him accordingly.

Then there is the story of the jeweller Nanda[10], who, with the permission of Śreṇika ordered the construction of a picture gallery, with hundred columns, which was decorated with woodwork (*kaṭṭhakamma*), stucco (*pustakamma*), painting (*chitta-kamma*) and terracotta figures (*lepyakarma*).

There are also many passages in Jain literature which praise the technical efficiency of the painters. In the *Āvaśyakaṭīkā*[11] a couplet trying to establish the correctness of the maxim 'Experience in profession means perfection', quotes the example of a painter. The *Chūrṇi* explains that by constant practice the painter is able to get correct proportions (*pramāṇa*) of the figures without having recourse to measurement.

Reference is made to the great efficiency which at times the painters attained in their profession.[12] It is related that an artist painted a peacock feather. It was done in such a realistic manner that the king who had engaged the services of the artist to paint the picture gallery touched the painted feather under the impression that it was real.

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7. *Jñātā Dharma Kathā*, I, 9.
8. *Ib.* VIII, 78.
9. *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra Bhā.*, II, 5. 262.
10. *Jñātā Dharmā Kathā*, XIII, 99.
11. *Āvaśyaka ṭīkā*, pp. 427a, 427.
12. *Ib.*, p. 558a.

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The *Āvaśyakachūrṇi*[13], while discussing the various constituents of a *sūtra*, i.e., *bhāṣā*, 'definition', *vibhāṣā*, 'option', and *vārttā* 'annotation', cites the example of painting. When on the wall the right proportion of a figure is obtained it is then called *bhāṣā* or definition of painting; when its various limbs are defined then the *vibhāṣā* stage is reached and when the eyes, etc., are painted then the *vārttā* or annotation stage is reached.

From the references quoted above it is evident that the art of painting in ancient India had reached a very high level.

It would be interesting in this section to trace the development of Jain painting, though it must be admitted at the outset that the difference between the Jain painting and Buddhist and Brahmanical paintings is purely of subject matter, the technical processes involved are common to all.

The tradition of Jain painting is as old as Buddhist painting. There are very extensive rock hewn caves not earlier than the second century B.C., and mainly of the first century B.C., at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri at Orissa.[14] In one of the caves there are remains of paintings.

The Sittannavāsal wall-paintings form the earliest published document of Jain painting; they are, it must be admitted, not different from the contemporary paintings of Ajaṇṭā. The second remarkable point about these wall-paintings is that they belong to a Digambara Jain temple. The point needs stressing as after the 10th century practically all painted manuscripts are Śvetāmbara, though wall-paintings in Digambara temples continued. Mahendra Varman I (A.D. 600—625), to whose reign the paintings of Sittannavāsal are attributed, was the follower of Jainism before he was converted to Saivism by Appar. Sittannavāsal is a Jain temple and was carved out of the rocks by the co-religionists and friends of Mahendra Varman. This gifted prince was the author of a treatise on dancing and painting as revealed by Māmandur inscription.[15] He also ordered the compilation of a treatise on South Indian painting and sculpture called *Dakshiṇa Chitra*, in which rules were laid down for the guidance of painters and sculptors.[16] It is, however, true, as observed by Dr. Stella Kramrisch[17], that barring a certain physiognomical conventions in figure drawings there are no distinguishing features which separate Sittannavāsal paintings from the contemporary paintings of Ajaṇṭā and Badāmī.

The walls and ceilings of Sittannavāsal or the Abode of the Siddhas were once fully covered with paintings from which only a few have survived. These consist of the figures of Apsarasas dancing in the clouds[18], a royal couple,[19] and the two lotus

13. *Āvaśyaka-Chūrṇi*, pp. 116a–116.
14. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 639 ff.
15. *Ind. Ant.*, LII, p. 47.
16. T. N. Ramachandran, *The Royal Artist Mahendra Varman I*, J. O. R., Madras, VII, p. 235.
17. *J. I. S. O. A.*, V, p. 218.
18. *Ib.*, Pl. XXVII, 1.
19. *Ib.*, Pl. XXVI, 2.

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ceiling panels [20] (Figs. 1–2), the first depicting a lotus pond with two geese and a human figure, and the second, which is the continuation of the first, has a human figure with a basket of plucked lotus flowers. The disporting elephants are deep russet or yellowish brown and the bulls appear buff coloured. These lotus ponds are thought to be a part of the *Samavasaraṇa* or a resting place made by the gods for a Tīrthamkara after he had attained salvation. According to Jain mythology it was circular in ground plan and was provided with twenty thousand steps on four sides, doors, roads and ponds before each gateway. As mentioned in Jain literature, when the Lord sets out for *Samavasaraṇa* the gods prepare nine golden lotuses of a thousand[21] petals each and place them in succession in front of the Lord. The second lotus pond which has fishes, *makara*, geese, elephant, bulls and human figures, has been identified with the *Khātikābhūmi* of the *Samavasaraṇa* in which the *Bhavyas*, i.e., the faithful, gather lotus flowers.[22] As the same subject is depicted at Kailāsanāth Temple, Ellura, it seems the motif was common to both Hindu and Jain paintings. Its Jain interpretation correctly refers it to a special *bhūmi* of the *Samavasaraṇa*; it could, however, as well picture Ābhiyogika gods who bring the paraphernalia for Jina's ablutions. "They take lotuses from the ocean Puṣkarārdha, from the lake Padma—on the other mountain ranges, in every zone, they took water lotuses, etc., insatiable to them like master's favour."[23]

We have discussed above the religious significance of the lotus ponds in Sittannavāsal paintings, which is possible, though it may be equally possible that the motif has no religious significance and has been used as a pure decoration for ceiling. Such decorations are known from Jain literature. *Jñātādharma Kathā*, as already mentioned, speaks of the palace of Dhāriṇī Devī, whose ceiling was decorated with lotus rhizome.

Till the 7th century the wall-paintings which come down to us are Buddhist in character, with the exception of the paintings from Sittannavāsal, though traces of wall-paintings from the Hindu temples of the same period have recently come to light. The remains of the wall-paintings at Badāmī are of fragmentary nature which prevents us from theorising about their technical achievements, but one thing is certain that the artistic conventions they employ are similar to those employed at Ajaṇṭā. A more detailed knowledge of Hindu painting is, however, available from the wall-paintings of Ellura. The Brahmanical group of cave temples covers a period of three centuries or more (7th to 11th century A.D.). Wall-paintings also occur in the Kailāsanāth temple (8th century A.D.), and in the minor group of unnumbered caves known as Ganesa Leṇa (8th to 11th century A.D.). They are also to be found in the Jain group designated as Indrasabhā (8th—10th centuries A.D.). The best specimens are, however,

20. *J. I. S. O. A.*, Pls. XXV, XXVI.
21. *Tiruparuttikuṇram*, pp. 192–193, quoted by Stella Kramrisch, *J. I. S. O. A.*, V, p. 229.
22. *J. I. S. O. A.*, V, p. 230.
23. *Tiruparuttikuṇram*, p. 119.

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found at Kailāsa.[24] Though Kailāsa was hewn out in the 8th century, the wall paintings belong to different periods and there are several layers of them. In the earliest layer, which may be contemporary with the date of the exacavation of the Cave, there is a representation of the gods paying homage to Śiva[25] (Fig. 3). In consonance with the formulas of the medieval Hindu iconography, the gods and godlings appear according to their fixed iconographic types, and the scene is laid in the land of the gods. The human element of Ajaṇṭā is dead for ever. It is, however, remarkable that angularity in drawing, a regular feature of the art of later age, does not yet appear.

In the middle layer[26], Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa (Fig. 4) and Śiva riding on bull (Fig. 5) are represented. A remarkable change in figure drawing may be marked in the angularity of drawing seen in the pointed nose of Garuḍa, the Gandharvas and Lakshmī. The shrinking of farther cheek and the consequent protrusion of the eye into space, though to a slight extent, may be marked. It could be said without any reservation that these paintings are the harbingers of new conventions in Indian art, which became stereotyped in Western Indian miniatures.

The most interesting paintings in the western porch of Kailāsa are some battle scenes depicted on the inner sides of the architraves. The drawing of the horses[27] (Fig. 6) in most cases is spirited and the physiognomy of the riders closely resembles the physiognomy of the persons depicted in the early twelfth century illustrated Jain manuscripts from Gujarāt. The angularity in the features is emphasised, and at times the farther eyes protrude into space. Fortunately, the dates of these wall-paintings can be determined on the basis of certain inscriptions in Nāgarī characters of the 12th or 13th century mentioning Paramārdirāja. The Paramāras of Mālwā wielded great authority in the 12th century, and the battle scenes perhaps depict some war between them and the rulers of the Deccan.

The chief point of interest in these paintings of Kailāsa, as observed by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani,[28] is that the close relationship of the wall-paintings in the lowest layer to Ajaṇṭā school is gradually lost in the upper layer until it finally becomes extinct in the paintings of the architraves which show distinct traces of Rajputānā.

In the southern porch of Kailāsanāth we see several scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, the fight of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the opportune help by the monkey god Hanumān and the final release of Sītā through the help of the latter. These wall-paintings were apparently executed at a later period when the temple was in charge of the people with Vaishṇavite leanings. In the painting illustrating the bringing back of Sītā to Rāma[29], the drawing is highly conventional, the

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24. *ARAD., H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions*, 1927–28, p. 20.
25. *Ib.*, Pl. V-A.
26. *Ib.*, Pl. B.
27. *Ib.*, Pls. D, E, F.
28. *Ib.*, p. 21.
29. *Ib.*, Pl. C.

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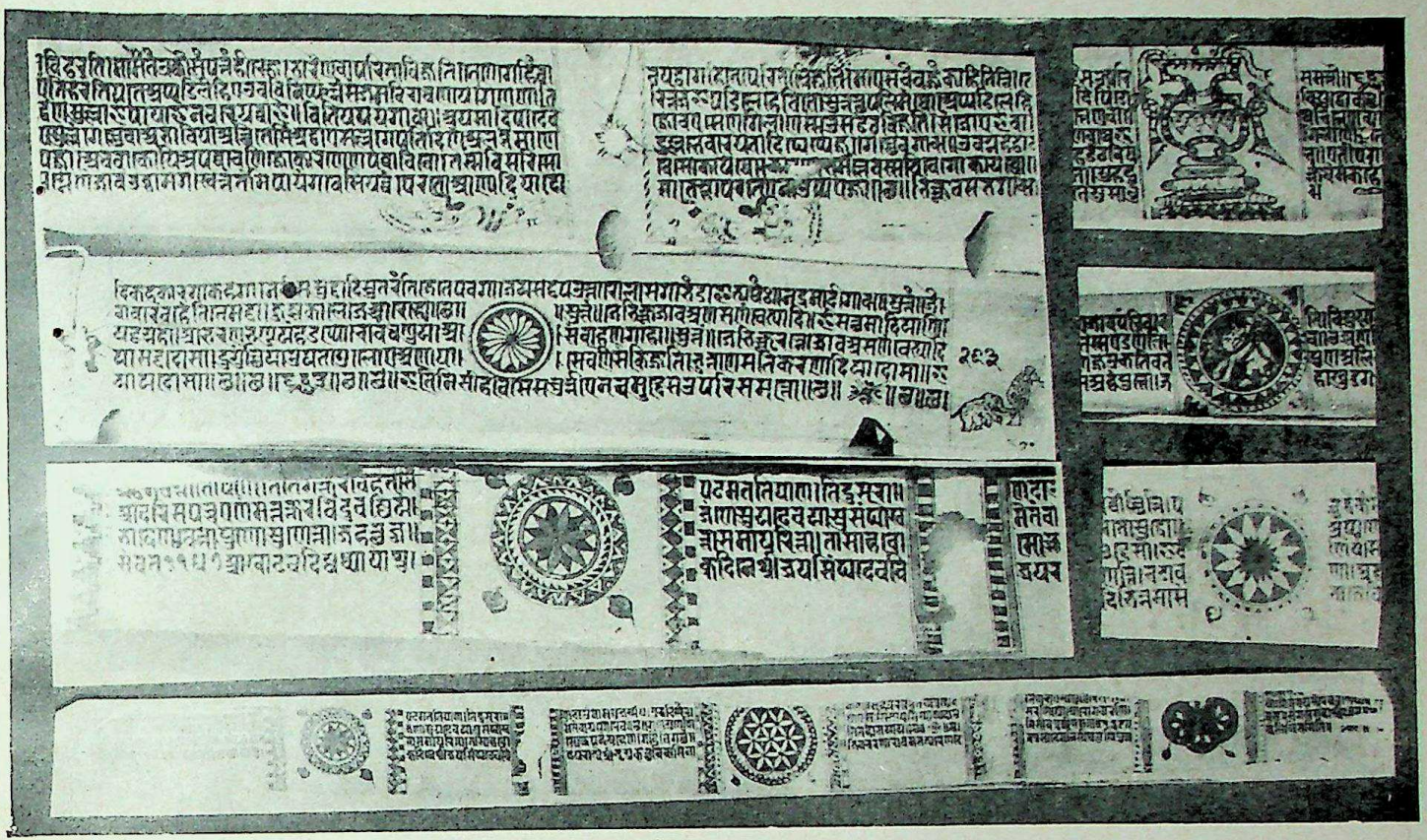

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

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monkey god is shown taking giant strides carrying Sītā on his head. Sītā is guarded on either side by a nymph floating in the air.

While talking of the Vaishṇavite influence on the Śaivite temple of Kailāsa, there is another evidence which proves that religious animosity in medieval India was confined to academic controversies between the followers of different faiths. In the western porch[30], a scene is depicted (Fig. 7) in which a group of women carrying water-pitchers on their heads and accompanied by soldiers is welcoming a Digambara Jain monk on a palanquin. The appearance of a Jain scene in a Hindu temple may also be due to the forcible occupation of Kailāsanāth by the Jains in the 12th century.

There are few traces of medieval wall-paintings left in Western and Central India, and, therefore, the Pañchatantra stories painted on the *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Madanpur, District Lalitapur, U.P., known as Choṭā Kachaharī, are of special interest. The temple was built in the reign of Madana Varmā (1130—1165 A.D.), and the paintings were added probably shortly after the completion of the building.[31] Dr. Stella Kramrisch, while describing these paintings, observes in a note[32] that they are more related to Western Indian miniature paintings of twelfth to fourteenth century. Their chief interest lies in the angularity of drawing, pointed nose and the protrusion of farther eye into space. These features, together with the characteristic mode of wearing bun-like coiffeur, well trimmed beard (Fig. 8) and the conventional treatment of trees, birds and animals,[33] share with the Western Indian miniatures of 12th to 14th century.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries wall-paintings seem to have been a common mode of artistic expression in South India. It is remarkable that most of such paintings come from the Digambara Jain temples, and also from Hindu temples. The wall paintings in the Digambara Jain temple at Tirumalai are datable on the strength of inscriptions between the tenth and fourteenth centuries.[34] On the stylistic grounds,[35] however, the Tirumalai wall-paintings may belong to the 11th or 12th century.

Two layers of paintings are visible at Tirumalai. They represent the Devatās and Kimpuruṣas flying in the clouds [36] (Fig. 9), the Devas marching in a line towards the *Samavasaraṇa*,[37] the Gandharvas and heavenly nymphs,[38] a Deva standing amidst flowers,[39] and a row of nuns clad in white[40]. In the second layer, which is considerably later than the first and may belong to the end of the 12th century, there is the representation of a Jain monk seated on a cushion facing another monk ;[41] another scene

30. *ARAD., H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions*, 1927–28. Pl. F.
31. *J. I. S. O. A.*, VII, p. 175.
32. *Ib.*, fn. 3.
33. *Ib.*, Pls. XVIII, XIX.
34. *Ib.*, Vol. V, p. 220.
35. *Ib.*, Pls. XXIX, XXX, XXXI.
36. *Ib.*, Pl. XXX, 1.
37. *Ib.*, Pl. XXX, 2.
38. *Ibd.*, Pl. XXIX, 1.
39. *Ib.*, Pl. XXIX, 2.
40. *Ib.*, Pl. XXIX, 3.
41. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXI, 1.

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depicts [42] Digambara monks preaching to a lady who is offering them food; and a third depicts a four-armed, and three-eyed deity, possibly Indra[43].

All the paintings in the interior are on black ground, while different ochres, terraverte and grey earths fill the outline of the figures. There is no attempt at modelling, though the colour tones are the same as at Ajaṇṭā[44].

The chief interest of these wall-paintings, from the point of view of the history of Jain miniatures, lies in the angular treatment of the nose and chin and the protrusion of the farther eye into space. Both these characteristics appear in the figures of the flying gods, nuns and the Digambara monks.

There are also wall-paintings in the stone-built temple of Kailāsanāth at Conjeevaram[45] datable to the last decade of the 7th century; in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore[46] datable to about 11th century, and in the Vijayālaya Nārttamalai Cholīśvara temple datable to the 11th century.[47] The Nārttamalai paintings, which belong to the later Chola age, share with the wall-paintings of Ellura and Western Indian miniatures the angularity of drawing and certain physical peculiarities as pointed nose, etc.

From the examination of the wall-paintings, roughly from the 9th to 12th century, found in the South, the Deccan and as far as Mālwā, we are struck with certain characteristic features which are common to all. The crude colour modelling, the linear quality of the drawing, the protuberance of the farther eye into space, pointedness of the nose and chin, and the conventional treatment of trees, animals and birds, are common features of all. There are, of course, local variations in the details of costume and also human types, but the similarity of technique is so great that all these wall-paintings bear the stamp of a common stock. This question will be again dealt in its proper place.

We have seen above how the traditions of Ajaṇṭā were breaking after the eighth century as seen in the wall-paintings from all over the country. To this age of the modification of technique and methods in pictorial art may be relegated the illustrated Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts from Bengal and Nepāl. These miniatures, while giving preference to the linear technique of the age, yet preserve certain Ajantesque traits. They also furnish us a record of artistic activity in Eastern India and Nepāl from the 9th to 12th century, and their importance is very much increased when we know the scarcity of the documents of graphic art which has survived from that period.

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42. *J.I.S.O.A.*, Pl. XXXI, 2.
43. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXI, 3.
44. *Ib.*, p. 234.
45. Sivaramamurti, *J. O. R.*, Madras, Vol. XI (1937), Part ii, pp. 73—76.
46. S. K. Govindaswami, *The frescoes of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore*, Journal of Annamalai University, Vol. II, p. 1, ff.; *Cola Painting*, J. I. S. O. A., Vol. II, pp. 33—81. O. C. Gangoly, *Discovery of Cola frescoes in Tanjore*, Ind. Art. & Lts., 1925, p. 86.
47. *J. I. S. O. A.*, V, pp. 319-20.

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The majority of the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts is that of the *Ashṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. There are also illustrated manuscripts of the *Pañcharakshā* and *Mahāmāyūrī*, but they are very rare. These manuscripts could be divided into two classes, those written and illustrated in Bengal, and those illustrated in Nepāl. The outstanding manuscripts from the æsthetic point of view are : (1) A manuscript of the *Ashṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. 20, 589) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dated 1136 A.D. (2) A manuscript in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose datable to circa 1100 A.D. (3) A manuscript of the *Mahāmāyūrī* datable to the 12th century, in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares. (4) A manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* formerly in the collection of Mr. Vrendenburg written in the 39th regnal year of Rāmapāla. (5) A manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* written in Nepāl, now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and is dated in 1070–71 A.D.[48]

It is true that there are characteristics of technique and subject common to all these manuscripts as observed by M. Foucher,[49] but the charge of extreme dlulness brought against these miniatures is not right. Repetition was inevitable when the miniatures are viewed in their iconographic context, but both from the points of view of technique and careful handling of the subject these miniatures prove the high antiquity of their tradition. While criticising these paintings we have to allow due concession to the restricted surface of the palm-leaf which could afford space only to limited decoration and within which the composition was confined to the delineation of a few figures. The miniatures are not organically and decoratively associated with the script and they occupy spaces left by the script to be filled by the painter. The standard size of the palm-leaf is $23'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$, and usually the miniature measure $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. The subject is confined to the illustrations of different incidents in the life of the Buddha and the numerous divinities of later Tantric Buddhism (Fig. 10).

As observed by Mr. Ghose,[50] "The technique is calligraphic. The draughtsmanship is unusually strong and having regard to the material—fragile and soft palm-leaf on which the drawing is made, the beauty of line and colour cannot but evoke our admiration. The forms are first drawn in outline and then filled in with washes of colours. The outline is then drawn out in red for those figures which are coloured red, yellow or white, but in black for those the colour of which is green. In the drawing of the figures there is no regard of scale. A very noticeable and general characteristic which has been pointed out by Vrendenburg (*Rupam*, 1–2, 1920, p. 10) may be stated here. This is downward pointing angle in the middle of the upper eye-lid of the several of the faces by means of which the down-cast look is emphasised. It is the form distinguished as Padmapalāśa. Decorative settings taken from architecture such as

48. *Rupam*, April—July, 1929, pp. 81–82.
49. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, I, pp. 36–37. Paris, 1900.
50. *Rupam*, April—July, 1929, p. 80.

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trefoil arch are made use of. The lotus rinceaux in such settings is worthy of mention. Geometric and animal motifs, such as the stag is used as side decoration at the end of the chapters. The costumes and settings of the scene give us an accurate and attractive picture of contemporary life and manners. The execution is as admirable as the draughtsmanship."

This rather long description of the technique is quoted, in order to show the wide technical differences between the Buddhist miniatures from Bengal and the Jain miniatures from Western India. The employment of palm-leaf for painting, the miniatures not forming organically or decoratively a part of the script, the representations of the incidents from the lives of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism, and the depiction of the Tantric gods and goddesses, are the common features of the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts from Bengal and Western India. But after these the similarity ends and the differences begin. In Western Indian miniature technique there is no attempt at strong draughtsmanship and the angularity is an outstanding feature. There is constant break in the line, and the drawing is usually careless. In Pāla painting the figures were usually first outlined and then filled with colours, but in Western Indian miniatures the figures were first modelled in colours and then outlined. The final outlining in Pāla paintings was done in deeper shades of the colours of the figures, but in Western Indian miniature painting black was the usual colour employed. The eye-lids in Pāla paintings are shaded, but this convention is non-existent in Western Indian miniatures. Pāla paintings are said to have preserved certain features of the contemporary life and manners of the people ; in this way as well Western Indian miniatures are of far greater interest for the history of Indian costume and contemporary manners and customs in Western India.

A natural question which presents itself is that, though Eastern and Western schools of painting are more or less contemporary at least in their formative stages why such pronounced differences have arisen. The answer to this query is offered by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha (1608 A.D.). Giving the history of Indian painting, he says that in the time of the Blessed One the artists were imbued with supernatural power and produced astonishing works of art. He quotes the authority of the *Vinayavastu* and other works to show that the wall-paintings, etc., of these masters were such as to deceive people by their likeness to the actual objects depicted.[51] The tradition of these masters lasted for some centuries after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. Then the art was taken up by the Devas or the heavenly artists who had adopted human form. Later on Nagās and Yakshas, the vegetable and water spirits, practised painting from the time of Aśoka to the time of Nāgārjuna (70 A.D.). Resuming the history, Tārānātha says that the art of the Nagās and Yakshas was forgotten rapidly and a

51. W. L. Heeley, *Extracts from Taranath's History of Buddhism in India*, Ind., Ant., IV, p. 102.

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Fig. 16

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number of provincial schools came into being. In the reign of Buddhapaksha (between 5th and 6th century A.D.), the great painter and sculptor Bimbasāra produced great works of art. His works were executed after the style of the Devās. The number of his followers was extremely great, and as he was born in Magadha the artists of his school were styled Madhyadeśa artists. Another school which is named ancient school of the West was founded by Śringadhara of Maru (Mārwār) who was an accomplished artist and painter. He worked under Harshavardhana (610—650 A.D.). Two other painters named Dhīmana and his son Bitpalo, hailing from Varendra, and who worked in the reign of Devapāla and Dharmapāla, adopted in their cast-metal works and paintings the ancient style of the Nāgas. " The father and son gave rise to different schools; as the son lived in Bengal the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called the gods of the Eastern style, whatever might be the birthplace of their actual designers. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern school; those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called the followers of the Madhyaḍeśa school of painting. So, in Nepāl, the earlier school of art resembled the old Western school, but in the course of time a peculiar Nepālese school formed itself which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern school; the latest artists have no special character. In Kashmīr too there were in former times followers of the old Western school of Madhyadeśa; later on a certain Hasurāja founded a new school in painting and sculpture, which is now called Kashmīr school. Wherever Buddhism prevailed, skilful artists were found, while wherever the Mlechhas ruled, they disappeared; where again the Tīrthya doctrines (orthodox Hinduism) prevailed unskilful artists came to the front."

Now let us examine the various points of interest raised in the history of Indian painting by Tārānātha.

The earliest phase of Indian art in Tārānātha's history which speaks of human masters with miraculous powers producing astonishing works of art, who flourished for a few centuries after the Buddha, then their mantle falling on the artists who were gods in human form, to be followed by the Yaksha and Nāga artists, is too nebulous and legendary to merit any serious consideration. I. Stchoukine[52] puts forward a suggestion that the legend preserves in the names of the Devās, Yakshas and Nāgas, the memory of the Iranian, Greek and Dravidian artists. This is, however, a pure surmise, its only support being the presence of Iranian and Greek influences in Indian art, specially in the period of Aśoka and later on in Gandhāra sculpture and architecture.

After the decay of the Yaksha and Nāga styles, it seems various regional schools came into being, the most important among them being the school of Madhyadeśa or Magadha founded by Bimbasāra in the time of king Buddhapaksha. We do not know who this king was, though it is probable that he was some Gupta king. If that

52. I. Stchoukine *La peinture Indienne*, p. 10.

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be so, then the school founded by Bimbasāra refers to the Gupta school of painting and sculpture in the 5th and 6th centuries.

Then follows the foundation of the old Western school by one Śringadhara, an artist from Mārwār in the 7th century. This school does not seem to have been localised in Western India, but its traditions seem to have travelled as far as Nepāl where, according to the testimony of Tārānātha, the earlier schools of art resembled the old Western school. In Kashmīr as well in ancient days there were followers of the Western school, until Hasurāja founded a new school.

It is difficult to make any surmise about the distinguishing features of the old Western school founded in Mārwār, as no painting from Mārwār or Western India from those early times has survived. But if sculpture be the index of the art conventions of those times, then the angularity in the treatment of human figures may be counted as the distinguishing features of the Western Indian art of Bundelkhand, Mālwā, Rājputānā and Gujarāt. It would have been an interesting study to trace the migration of the art conventions of the old Western school to the Deccan and the South, but unfortunately no wall-paintings of the 7th or 8th century have survived from Western India. In the middle layer of the wall-paintings at Kailāsa, Ellura, datable to the 9th century, one is confronted with peculiar conventions such as angularity in the representation of human figures, pinching of the farther cheek and the consequent protrusion of the farther eye into empty space. As these conventions are still in embroynic stage in the later cave paintings of Ajaṇṭā, they may be attributed to the extraneous influence probably of Gujarāt and Rājaputānā. The influence of Western Indian art at somewhat later period may be marked in the Vishṇu temple at Madanpur, in Lalitapur District, U.P., adjoining Mālwā. The battle scenes in the Western porch of Kailāsanātha, Ellura, depicting rows of horsemen, and the inscriptional evidence, indicating their connections with the Paramāras of Mālwā, also show Rājpūt or Western Indian influence.

The conventions of Western school did not confine itself to the Deccan only, but travelled further south and its influence is clearly visible in the 11th century Chola wall-paintings in the Vijayālaya Cholēśvara temple at Narttamalai.

This old Western school is said by Tārānātha to have penetrated as far east as Nepāl and as far north as Kashmīr. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the painting of Kashmīr is practically nil. As regards the Nepālese painting, whatever we know of this merely shows that it was a mere shadow of the Pāla school of Bengal and Bihar. Its linear conception, however, seems to have been borrowed from the Western school. It is, however, in the 17th and 18th centuries that we find distinct Western Indian influences on Nepālese cloth-painting, but this seems to be due to the second migration of the art conventions of Rājputānā and Gujarāt, greatly influenced by the Mughal technique. In Orissa as well, this old Western Indian style seems to have exercised certain influence. No earlier document is available but the painted book-cover of

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the *Vishṇupurāṇa*[53], dated 1421 in Saka era (1499 A.D.), depicting the last six of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, shows definite characteristics of Western Indian style. The angularity in drawing is a characteristic feature and the small chin and pointed nose point to the physiognomical conventions of Western Indian art. In the 16th and 17th centuries, however, the style of the book-cover painting changes,[54] but again conforms to Western Indian art traditions modified by Mughal influences. In the book-cover[55], depicting the dance of Krishna, the trees in the background conform to the realistic treatment of the landscape in Jahāngīr period. In another book-cover[56], dated 1653 A.D., Krishna flattering his beloved depicting the tradition is Rājpūt. All this technical improvement may be attributed to the second surge of Western Indian influence, but the older conventions survived and a book-cover, dated in 1744 A.D.[57], shows the same angularity in figure drawing which we have seen in the painted book-cover dated 1499 A.D.

Western Indian school seems to have exercised some influence on the wall-paintings of the Buddhist temples at Pagan, Burma. Iconographically, the wall-paintings of Pagan belong to both major schools of Buddhism—the Therāvāda and the Mahāyāna including Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna. There was, however, such an element of eclecticism in the religious life of Pagan for nearly two hundred and fifty years that the Brahmanical deities like Śiva, Brahmā, Sūrya, Vishṇu and Garuḍa, appear freely moving among the members of allied faiths[58].

There is no authentic record to establish a chronological sequence of the paintings in Pagan temples. But on the stylistic grounds it is evident that the earliest phase of Pagan paintings is datable from the 10th to 14th century[59], and its latest phase, as seen in the wall-paintings of Upali-thein, is datable to the 17th and 18th centuries. The first phase of the Indo-Burmese painting is characterised by the importation of simple Indian models[60], probably from Bengal. This phase may best be studied in the wall-paintings of Abeyadana (C. 1100 A.D.), Kubyaukkyi (C. 1100 A.D.), Nagayon (C. 1100 A.D.), Myebantha (C. 1100 A.D.), and Patothamya (C. 10th century)—the last two are situated at Pagan and the rest at Myinpagan.

The second phase of Pagan painting embodying quite a different tradition, is represented by the wall-painting of Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna group of temples at Minnanthu and Pagan. Abbe Chas. Durioiselle[61] determines the date of the foundation of Nandamanna between 1112 and 1130 A.D., and, on the consideration that the paintings of Nandamanna and of Paya-thon-zu are identical in technique

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53. J. C. French, *The Land of the Wrestlers*, Ind. Art. and Lts., I (1927), Pl. II-A.
54. *Ib.*, Pl. II-B, V.A.
55. *Ib.*, Pl. II. B.
56. *Ib.*, Pl. V. A.
57. *Ib.*, Pl. V. B.
58. *J. I. S. O. A.*, VI, p. 138.
59. *Ib.*, p. 139.
60. *Ib.*, Pl. XXIX.
61. *A. S. R.*, 1915–16, p. 83.

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and character, he assigns to both early 12th century. Dr. Ray, however, assigns thirteenth century to the paintings on stylistic grounds[62].

The more or less idiom of Eastern Indian art in the first phase of Pagan painting is attributed by Prof. Ray[63] to the importation of Talaing culture along with the Therāvāda Buddhism after Anawrahata's sack of Thaton in 1057 A.D. The Talaings as we know had long before imbibed the elements of Indian culture, and the Indian influence in the paintings, sculptures and bronzes of Pagan was due not in a small measure to their civilization.

The gradual suppression of the plastic conception by the linear conception in Indo-Burmese art as observed by Dr. Ray [64] is not due to the process of Burmanisation of the Indian plastic concepts, but was merely an echo of the analogous process going on in India in the 11th and 12th centuries. As in Eastern Indian and Nepālese paintings, so at Pagan, two tendencies, one plastic and the other linear, run their course side by side till a time is reached when the Eastern Indian conception is finally superseded by the medieval linear conception. But this linear conception as yet retains some of its plastic qualities and, as observed by Prof. Ray,[65] even the examples of Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna try to avoid the extreme sharpness and pointedness which are typical of Western Indian painting.

While such changes in art concepts were going on in Burma, analogous changes were being effected in Eastern Indian painting in the 11th and 12th centuries. This gradual transformation from the plastic conception to the linear was perhaps due to the new Western Indian standpoint in art. To quote Dr. Ray,[66] "The beginning of the linear conception can be traced back to Ellura paintings; but it was perhaps in Western India that the conception found its wide expression though in a twelfth century example from the Sundarbans, Bengal, we have one of its earlier versions (D. P. Ghosh, *J. I. S. O. A.*, II, No. 2), and even earlier than this in certain Pāla examples already cited. It now appears that this linear conception, wherever it might have originated, must have become an all-India property by about 10th or 11th century. Pāla sculpture, however, kept itself almost free from this tendency, but Pāla painting could not, painting being itself two dimensional. Eastern India transformed the tendency to Nepāl, and as we now see, to Burma as well, in the trail of her missionaries and her colonial adventurers."

The traces of this Western Indian linear conception are found in the twelfth century wall-paintings from the temples of Paya-thon-zu[67] (Fig. 11) and Nandamanna[68] (Fig. 12). In these paintings one may see the Eastern Indian traces of line which could at once model and went into sweeping curves. In the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna

62. *J. I. S. O. A.*, VI, p. 138.
63. *Ib.*, pp. 140–141.
64. *Ib.*, p. 143.
65. *Ibd.*, pp. 143–144.
66. *Ib.*, p. 144.
67. *A. S. R.*, 1915–16, Pls. XLIX—LIII.
68. *J. I. S. O. A.*, VI, Pl. XXXI, 1–2.

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Fig. 17 to 22

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Fig. 23 to 28

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the modelling capacity of line is lost, though the wide sweep and curves of the Eastern school are yet there. But in spite of all these vestiges of ancient art, the sharp angularity becomes a characteristic feature of this art. The pointed nose, short chin, the farther eye protruding into space, are the common features of this phase of Pagan art and early Western Indian painting, but, as pointed out by Prof. Ray[69], the linear conception in both schools differs. The line in Western Indian school is pointed with occasional half-hearted efforts at curvature. It lacks the emotional sweep of Pagan painting. Thus the linear conception of Western Indian painting, hard and sensitive, though modifying the character of Pagan painting, was, however, unable to supplant entirely the lyrical sensitiveness of the Eastern school.

After examining at length the influence of Western Indian art traditions on the wall-paintings from different parts of India and Burma, we come to the conclusion that in the tenth century, or even a little earlier, the fresh conventions of the Western Indian style left their homeland and travelled to the remotest corners of India, influencing the contemporary Pāla painting in Eastern India and Nepāl and penetrating as far as Pagan and Nepāl. These traditions seem to have travelled with the advancement of Rājpūt culture from Gujarāt and Rājaputānā. As Apabhramśa became the common medium of literary expression in this age, so the linear conception of Western Indian school became the medium of artistic expression all over the country. There is no doubt that the regional schools maintained some of their earlier characteristics, which was inevitable as the art conventions which those schools had followed for many generations could not be completely suppressed, but generally changes were effected in conformation with the new conventions. Henceforward, the ancient Western Indian school loses its geographical connotation and merges into the general trend of the medieval Indian art.

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69. *J. I. S. O. A.*, VI, p. 145.

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CHAPTER II

NOMENCLATURE

ILLUSTRATED manuscripts both on palm-leaf and paper, paintings on cloth and painted wooden book-covers, dating from the 12th century and onwards, are found mostly in Jain collections. The earliest known specimens as well as the greatest number appear in the Śvetāmbara Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs in Gujarāt, and for this reason their style has been variously designated as 'Jain' or 'Śvetāmbara Jain' and 'Gujarāt'. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab, in order to avoid controversy, has designated the style as 'Gujarāt school under the patronage of the Jains', which is a sort of compromise between the hieratic and provincial designations of the style. Rai Krishnadāsa calls it 'Apabhramśa school', his analogy being drawn from the field of linguistics where 'Apabhramśa' denotes the popular language as opposed to Sanskrit, the language of the cultured. Now let us examine the arguments of the scholars in favour of their respective designations before we hazard our own opinion.

1. Dr. Coomaraswamy at first gives the designation of Jain painting to these miniatures[1], but later on, in agreement with Mr. N. C. Mehta, calls it Gujarātī school[2].

2. Dr. W. Norman Brown objects to the nomenclature Jain as suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy and later on adopted by Mr. Ajit Ghose[3], and gives it a more specific title of 'Śvetāmbara Jain School'[4]. His arguments in favour of his nomenclature are as follows:—(*a*) The term Jain is too inclusive, for no painting in this particular style is reported among the Digambara Jains. (*b*) The nomenclature could not be Gujarātī as there are stylistic differences between the *Vasanta Vilāsa* and Śvetāmbara miniatures, and that their geographical provenance is not limited to Gujarāt but also extends to Rājputānā. On the strength of these considerations, he comes to the conclusion that the Śvetāmbara Jain would be a more appropriate title. In support of his new nomenclature, he points out a characteristic feature of these miniatures in which the eye in a three-quarter view of the face protrudes beyond the facial line. This feature, he explains, has been borrowed by the painters from the Śvetāmbara icons in which the original eyes are covered with additional glass eyes extending out of the facial line. Seen from three-quarter view, they protrude beyond the line of the cheek into space.

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1. *Cat. of Ind. Col. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part IV.
2. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 119—120.
3. *Artibus Asiae*, 1927.
4. *Ind. Arts and Lts.*, III (1929), p. 19 ff.

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Later on, Dr. Norman Brown seems to have revised his opinion.[5] "If a name based on community interest is desired," he says, "then Śvetāmbara would seem to be the choice; for the style does not appear among the Digambara Jains and, therefore, the designation 'Jain' would be too inclusive. But we could not be absolutely certain that the style originated among the Śvetāmbaras—although in the following pages shall indicate reasons for thinking it did—and it might, therefore, be better to adopt a name after the provenance of the style and call it 'Western Indian' to which I can see no possible objection."

3. In his study of the *Vasanta Vilāsa*, a painted scroll, dated 1451 A.D., in which the miniatures are executed after the so-called Jain style, Mr. N. C. Mehta comes to the conclusion that the title 'Jain' for such a highly secular subject would be a misnomer and the designation 'Gujarāt' would be better[6]. In a later study of the *Vasanta Vilāsa*[7], he says that there is nothing specially Jain in the so-called Jain painting and that all the characteristics of the so-called Jain school are common to the folk-art prevalent in Western India. In support of his view, he quotes some 15th century pieces of painted stucco in the collection of Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mawji of Bombay, which formed the interior decoration of a contemporary house, "which exhibit the same features of simple colour schemes, angular faces, eyes drawn out to the ears, eyebrows in simple curves, and a certain indifference to elegance, and careful, refined and finished workmanship, as are found in the medieval *Kalpasūtras*."

4. Mr. Nawab, as a compromise, designates the so-called Jain school as '*Gujarātī Jaināśrita Kalā*' or 'Gujarāt school of painting under the Jain patronage.' To support his designation, he advances the following reasons :—(*a*) Gujarāt (in wider sense) was responsible for the execution and preservation of the illustrated manuscripts, and the artists were generally the natives of Gujarāt. (*b*) The word 'Jain' is added simply to show that the pictorial subject-matter of this school is Jain and that the patrons of the artists were also Jains.[8]

5. Rai Krishnadasa in his *Bhāratkī Chitra Kalā* (Indian Painting) examines afresh the question of the designation of the so-called Jain school.[9] He disagrees with the designation Jain, as art at no time in India bore religious labels. According to Rai Krishnadasa it was possible that different religious systems in India gave some distinguishing feature to art based on their individual conception of life, but on the whole there was unity of purpose and technique in Indian art. The finding of the majority of the documents of medieval painting from the Jain Bhaṇḍārs, depicting Jain religious subjects, does not prove anything, except that the Jains were a rich community financially strong enough to spend money in getting innumerable copies of their sacred books as

5. *The Story of Kālaka*, pp. 13–14.
6. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 21.
7. N. C. Mehta, *Gujaratī-painting in the 15th century*, p. 25 ff. Lond., 1931.
8. Nawab, *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, pp. 11–12.
9. *Bhāratkī Chitrakalā*, p. 69 ff. Benares, 1939.

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acts of religious merit, and, fortunately enough, many of such copies have survived. He objects to designate the school as Jain on the assumption that the style originated from the monk painters. There is every possibility that the work was carried out by illiterate artists who followed the sketches in the margin as their guide. He objects to the designation 'Gujarāt', because it smells of provincialism for which there is no justification as many illustrated manuscripts and wall-paintings in the so-called Gujarāt style were executed in places far away from Gujarāt. Examining the view of Dr. Norman Brown that the school could perhaps be designated as Western Indian on the information of Tārānātha, he holds that its geographical connotation is not right as, according to Tārānātha himself, the style reached Kashmīr and Nepāl. Supporting his contention that the so-called Western Indian school was not only confined to Rājputānā and Gujarāt, he quotes as evidence the manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* illustrated at Garh Māndū, twenty-three miles from Dhār in Mālwā and Jaunpur in eastern U. P., written in 1465 A.D. by Venīdāsa Gauḍa, some illustrations from an unknown Avadhī poem in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, the illustrated manuscript of Laur and Chandā, a folk-tale of Panjāb in the Lahore Museum, the illustrated book-covers of Orissa, the folk paintings of Bengal and the wall-paintings of Ellura and Pagan. Elucidating his arguments in favour of discarding the designation Western Indian school, he says that there is validity in the argument that this style is devoid of all positive qualities, and that its outstanding characteristics are not due to progress. These features are not new, but owe their presence to the degeneration of ancient art conventions. The only truth in Tārānāth's mention of Western school is that this decadence started in Mārwār in the 7th century.

Rai Krishnadasa, after discarding all designations, proposes a new one and calls it 'Apabhramśa' or 'Corrupt Style' as this designation does not convey any idea of stylistic evolution. "As in this age of decadence the 'Apabhramśa' or 'Corrupt Style' in the sphere of art spread all over the country, in the same way Apabhramśa became the principal medium of literary expression. Not only that, but also the beginning and the end of the Apabhramśa style coincide with the literary history of Apabhramśa. This coincidence of the nature and progress of the Apabhramśa style in painting and literature lends support to the appropriateness of our designation. This underlying unity between literature and painting seems to have been noticed by the great contemporary poet, Rājaśekhara, who, while describing the gathering of the poets in the *Kāvyamīmānsā*, allots to the painters the same class as the poets of the Apabhramśa language."[10]

From the detailed discussion about the designations of the so-called Jain painting proposed by different authorities, it is evident that the earlier designation 'Jain' has been finally discarded on very solid grounds. The designation 'Śvetāmbara Jain school', proposed by Prof. W. Norman Brown, on the ground that the miniatures are

10. *Bhāratkī-Chitrakalā* pp. 81–82.

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Fig. 29 to 32

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Fig. 33 to 37

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exclusively Śvetāmbara Jain in subject-matter and that protrusion of the farther eye in this style was borrowed by the painters from the glass eyes of the Śvetāmbara Jain icons, is also not supported by facts. It is not right to say that the miniatures are confined to the Śvetāmbaras only, as miniatures in the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama Dhavalā Ṭīkā*, a Digambara Jain religious text, datable between 1113 and 1120 A.D., are known. We also know that the wall-paintings of the 12th century at Tirumalai are definitely Digambara in subject-matter. At an earlier period, the style is traceable in the Ellura frescoes, and its subsequent progress may be seen in the 11th century Brahmanical wall-paintings of the Vijayālaya Cholīśvara temple of Narttamalai. Then its traces are found in the wall-paintings of the Vishṇu temple at Madanpur, on the border-land of Mālwā and the United Provinces, and its characteristic features are borrowed by the Nandamanna and Paya-thou-zu wall-paintings at Pagan in Burma. The theory of its being exclusively Śvetāmbara Jain is further exploded with the discovery of such Brahmanical illustrated manuscripts as the *Devī-māhātmya* and *Bālagopāla-stuti*, and the illustrations of more sordid subjects as the *Ratirahasya* and *Vasanta Vilāsa*, both dealing with erotics. Not only that the style exerts a powerful influence on the 11th to 13th century miniatures from Eastern India and Nepāl, but there are documents from the eastern United Provinces and Orissa which show that the style had penetrated even in those far off places. For such a widely diffused style, a sectarian designation is hardly appropriate.

The designation 'Gujarāt', as proposed by Mr. N. C. Mehta and accepted by Dr. Coomaraswamy, may be objected to on the ground that it confines the school within a narrow geographical boundary, whereas it is known to have prevailed all over the country and even beyond.

The Apabhramśa or 'Corrupt Style', the designation coined by Rai Krishnadasa, has much to commend, as it expresses the technical and æsthetic decadence of mediæval Indian painting. However, his theory of the parallel development of Apabhramśa literature and art does not seem to be correct so far as the æsthetic interest of the former is concerned. The contemporary Apabhramśa literature is by no means decadent and is certainly an improvement on the contemporary Sanskrit poetry which is often dull and lifeless. On the contrary, painting in this period is definitely decadent, and seems to have been unable to keep space with the freshness and vigour of the contemporary Apabhramśa literature. Rai Krishnadasa denies any specific quality to Western Indian school, but there could be little doubt that it laid great stress on the linear conception at the cost of colouring and modelling. Unfortunately, only the decadent examples of the pictorial art of Western India have come down to us, and, therefore, it is difficult to say about its original conception, though it seems to have some improved version of the art which we see in the contemporary miniatures from Eastern India, which have preserved certain Ajaṇṭan conventions in greater purity than other mediæval schools of painting. The Eastern school had also to bow

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down to Western Indian school and assimilate its linear conception. Owing to the paucity of early documents, it is difficult to assert whether this linear conception was due to some new artistic impulse or owed its existence to all round decadence. But if the contemporary sculpture be the guide of contemporary art concepts, then linear conception, even at the sacrifice of modelling, seems to have been an outstanding feature of Western Indian sculpture. This linear conception, however, does not find place in the Pāla sculpture of Eastern India which till the end retains the serene pose and restrained modelling which were the gifts of the Gupta age. Prof. Norman Brown has used the designation 'Western Indian school' though he does not seem to have finally given up his earlier designation of Śvetāmbara Jain. His suggested designation of Western Indian school is supported by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha who speaks about the foundation of the old Western school by Śringadhara in the 7th century in Mārwār and its consequent progress to Kashmīr and Nepāl. As we have already said elsewhere, no early paintings of this school are found, but from the wall-paintings of Ellura, Madanpur, and the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts from Gujarāt, we, at least, can determine the characteristic conventions of this school in decadent form. The paintings executed in this style have been discovered from the Panjāb, the United Provinces, Orissa, Southern India and Pagan, and that establishes its popularity after the 10th century.

After considering the various designations, I think that our choice lies between the 'Apabhramśa' or 'Corrupt Style' and Western Indian school, the former laying emphasis on the decadence of style and the latter emphasising the geographical area of its origin. I, for my part, would prefer the designation 'Western Indian school.'

The time limit of this mediæval Western Indian painting is from the earliest miniatures in this style—our earliest dated examples being from the *Nisīthachūrṇī*, dated 1100 A.D. to about the end of the 16th century, when under the influence of the newly founded Mughal school the style disappeared. Examples of Western Indian miniatures follow in the 17th and 18th centuries, but their idioms of expression are seriously affected by the Rajpūt-Mughal complex, and their study forms a part of the development of Rajpūt and Mughal schools. In the present work we have confined ourselves to the study of the history of Western Indian miniatures, roughly extending from 1100 A.D. to the end of the 16th century.

The stylistic development of Western Indian miniature painting naturally falls under two periods, externally determined by the nature of carriers and internally by the subject-matter of paintings and the character of their execution. In the first period, the paintings appear on palm-leaf and wooden book-covers; in the second period, the carriers are cloth, paper and also wooden panels. The palm-leaf period runs roughly from 1100 to 1400 A.D. and the paper period from the beginning of the 15th century to the early years of the 17th century, when finally Western Indian style is merged into Rajpūt-Mughal style. 1400 A.D. may be taken as a dividing

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line between the palm-leaf and paper periods, though it must be admitted that both materials were used side by side for many years till palm-leaf was finally ousted.

There are certain distinguishing features which are common to both periods and there is slight difference in technique. Two persons were employed in the preparation of illustrated manuscripts. One copied the text and left blank spaces for illustrations. Sometimes marginal notes were added for the guidance of the painters. After the copying of the text was over the painter commenced the work of illustration, sometimes following the direction of the copyist's note, and sometimes leaving it out of consideration. The colours are simple and the line angular. One striking feature of this school is the protrusion of the farther eye, the protrusion being lesser in the palm-leaf period.

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CHAPTER III

MINIATURES ON PALM-LEAF

BEFORE the advent of paper in India, palm-leaf and birch-bark (*bhūrjapatra*) were extensively used as writing materials. In the palm-leaf manuscripts, the leaves were divided into two or three panels for writing, the division depending on the size of the leaves. On both sides of the panels generally one and half inch wide margins were left, and in the central margin a button strung on a string, which was passed through all manuscript, kept the leaves in position. On the right side, the leaves were numbered in letters, and on the left, in figures. In some manuscripts, either of these two systems of pagination was used. In several instances, the places of pagination and the central marginal hole for string were spotted with cinnabar, then the leaves were divided into two or three panels with margins separating each panel. The margins, in order to avoid the monotony of blankness, were framed with decorative lines. In some manuscripts, the end of the chapters were decorated with rosettes, lotus, *kalaśa* and other symbols.[1] If the manuscripts were to be illustrated, then the panels were left on different leaves, and, after the work of the scribe was over, they were handed over to the painters to complete their work.

The illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts may be divided on stylistic grounds into two groups, the first comprising the manuscripts executed between 1100 A.D. to roughly 1350 A.D., and the second comprising the manuscripts illustrated between 1350 and 1450 A.D. when paper practically displaced the palm-leaf.

The earliest known specimens of Western Indian miniatures are found in the illustrated manuscript of the *Niśīthachūrṇī* in the collection of the Sanghavīnā Pāḍānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan. The colophon bears the date of 1157 Vikramasamvat (1100 A.D.) and tells that the book was written by one Deva Prasāda at Bhṛgukachchha (modern Broach) in the reign of Jayasimha,[2] who ruled Gujarāt from 1094 to 1143 A.D. The illustrations are generally decorative roundels filled up with floral and geometrical patterns (Figs. 13–14)[3]. There are also a few figure drawings. In Fig. 14, an elephant rider within a roundel is depicted. In the same figure, two lightly clad women, holding garlands and probably representing the *Apsarases*, are depicted on the lower margin.

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1. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, pp. 69–70
2. *Ib.*, p. 52, fn. 109, *Kha.*
3. *Ib.*, Figs. 12–13.

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Fig. 38

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It is remarkable that the protrusion of the farther eye, a characteristic of Western Indian painting, does not appear here.

Removed twenty years in date, are the miniatures in the palm-leaf manuscripts of *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* with *Dhavalā Ṭīkā*, a religious text of great importance to Digambara Jains. The manuscript lying at Mūla Bidrī could be dated somewhere between 1113—1120 A.D.[4] The miniatures represent laymen hearing to the discourses of the monks, the Jinas, the goddess Chakeśvarī, and such decorative motifs as rosettes, etc.[5] The importance of these miniatures cannot be minimised, as these are the earliest known miniatures of Digambara Jain sect, and set at rest the controversy that the Western Indian miniature painting was exclusively sponsored by the Śvetāmbaras.

The style of the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* miniatures conforms to the conventions of Western Indian school, with emphasis on linear conception. It is, however, remarkable that the protrusion of the farther eye is not so prominent in these miniatures.

The next in chronological order are two miniatures in the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Jñātā Sūtra* and three other Aṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon, with the commentary of Abhayadeva, now in the Nagīndas (also called Śāntināth Temple) Bhaṇḍār of the Śvetāmbara Jains at Cambay[6]. The manuscript is dated 1127 A.D. The first miniature (Fig. 15) represents Śri Mahāvīra Svāmī seated on a throne in *padmāsana;* on his either side stands a *chaurī*-bearer. The second miniature (Fig. 16) represents the fourhanded Goddess Sarasvatī standing in *tribhaṅga* pose; the donors Desala and Subhaṁkara are seated on the floor with folded hands, and *haṃsa*, the vehicle of the goddess, is seen there. The smiling face of the goddess is well rendered and the outline is flowing and sensitive; the farther eye does not protrude into space. The *tribhaṅga* pose seems to have been however adopted from the contemporary sculpture and is very rare in Western Indian painting.

The palm-leaf manuscript of the *Daśavaikālika Laghuvṛtti* with a miniature, in the Śāntināth Bhaṇḍār, is dated 1143. A.D. The miniature represents a Jain monk seated on a couch conversing with another monk seated in front of him; a layman with folded hand stands on the right[7]. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab recognises in the picture the portraits of Śrī Hemachandrāchārya and his disciple Mahendra Sūri and Kumārapāla[8].

The next illustrated palm-leaf in chronological order is that of the *Ogha Niryukti* and six other books in the collection of the Jain Grantha Bhaṇḍār, Chhāṇī (Baroda State). It is dated 1161 A.D. and contains the representations of nineteen goddesses, including sixteen Vidyādevīs and the Yakshas Kapardī and Brahmaśānti[9] (Figs. 17—37; 38—42). These miniatures are of great importance for the study of the iconography

4. *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, ed. by Dr. Hiralal, Vol. I, p. ii.
5. *Ib.*, Vol. III, Pl. I.
6. Norman Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, p. 18; *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 40, Figs. 8–9.
7. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 40, Figs. 10–11.
8. *Ib.*, p. 105.
9. *Ib.*, Figs. 16—36; 38—42.

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of the sixteen Vidyādevīs in the Jain Mantraśāstra, as these are their earliest representation in painting. In the ceiling of the Vimala Vasahī temple at Delvādā, their figures are carved in marble, but, in painting, their representations are clearer. Besides their iconographical importance, the miniatures have preserved for us the details of contemporary costumes, both of men and women. The linear conception of drawing, attempts at colour-modelling, the pointed treatment of the nose and chin and the slight protrusion of the farther eye into space are some of their outstanding characteristics.

Then follows in chronological order the illustrated palm leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvīracharita*, the 10th *Parvan* of the *Trishashṭiśalākāpurusha Charita*, dated 1237 A.D., by Hemachandra[10]. It contains three miniatures (Figs. 43–45). The first miniature represents Hemachandrāchārya (?) seated on a throne dressed in typically white garments of the Jain monks. Behind him a disciple, holding a piece of cloth, is waiting and another disciple, seated in front, is learning his lessons. In the second miniature, Kumārapāla (?), dressed in shorts and a half-sleeved jacket, is listening to his teacher with folded hands. In the third miniature, Śrī Devī, a woman, is seated with folded hands. She wears the *sārī* and a green *cholī*.

Then come four miniatures in the manuscript of the *Neminātha Charita*, in the Śāntināth Bhaṇḍār, Cambay, dated 1241 A.D. The miniatures represent the goddess Ambikā (Fig. 46), Tīrthāṁkara Neminātha, a layman or donor seated with folded hands, (Fig. 47) and a seated Śrāvikā, also in the same attitude[11]. The drawing is careful and there is an attempt at modelling in colours. Then follow in chronological order two miniatures of very inferior workmanship in the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kathāratnasāgara* in the Pāṭannā Sanghavīnā Pāḍānā Bhaṇḍār, dated 1256 A.D.[12]. They illustrate Pārśvanātha and Jain monks and nuns.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, owns most of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Śrāvakapratikramaṇachūrṇi*.[13]. The manuscript, coming from near Udaipur, Mewār, contains six miniatures, some badly rubbed, and is dated 1260 A.D.

Then follow two miniatures from a manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and a version of the *Kālakāchārya-kathā* in the Sanghavīnā Pādānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, dated 1278 A.D.[14]. The miniatures represent two Jain nuns (Fig. 48) and Jain Śrāvikas (Fig. 49).

Next follow five miniatures from another palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, in the Sanghavīnā Pādānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, which is dated in 1279 A.D. The miniatures, representing Brahmaśānti Yaksha and Lakshmī Devi,[15] follow the iconographic prototypes of earlier period.

Further in chronological order are twenty-three miniatures in the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Subāhukathā* and seven other *kathās*, dated 1288 A.D.[16]. It is

10. Norman Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 18; *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 40, Figs. 12—14.
11. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 44.
12. *Ib.*, Figs. 46–47.
13. Norman Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.
14. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 50—51.
15. *Ib.*, Figs. 48—49.
16. *Ib.*, pp. 40–41, Figs. 52—59.

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interesting to note that the representations of trees and animals appear for the first time in these miniatures. We have reproduced three miniatures in colour. The first represents the marriage procession of Śrī Neminātha. The procession has two elephants ridden by Neminātha. There is an interesting wedding pavilion on the left with the bride seated under it. A man standing outside welcomes Neminātha with folded hands (Fig. 50). The second and third miniatures (Figs. 51–52) represent the story of Baldeva Muni, a deer, and the charioteer. The story goes that Baladeva Muni was so handsome that his presence in the cities attracted women-folk. Incensed at this, he retired to the forest and started practising severe penance. The denizens of the forest, among whom was a deer, started listening to his preachings. The deer always led the Muni to travellers who offered him food which kept his body and soul together. Once a charioteer, after cutting wood in the forest, was on the point of partaking his food; at the very moment the deer brought Baldeva Muni there and the charioteer offered him food. In the second miniature, Baldeva Muni is shown seated under a tree preaching to the congregation of animals on the right. In the third miniature, the charioteer is shown offering food to Baladeva Muni.

It is remarkable that in these miniatures, the Western Indian technique has crystallised itself. The drawing is angular; the physical peculiarities, such as the pointed nose and chin and the farther eye protruding in space, appear and there is no attempt at modelling in colours.

Besides these dated examples of Western Indian miniatures, there are others which do not bear any dates. The earliest example among these detached miniatures is a lovely drawing of the goddess Sarasvatī (Fig. 53) from the *Siddha Haima* in the collection of Sarabhai Nawab. It could be easily assigned to the first half of the 12th century. Then Sarabhai Nawab describes two miniatures from the *Paryushaṇā Kalpa* in the Śāntināth Bhaṇḍār, Cambay.[17] One of these represents Jineśvara Sūri with an attendant, a disciple and a layman. Then there are four miniatures from the *Uttarādhyayana*[18] and two miniatures from the *Ṛshabhadeva Charita* in the Sanghavīnā Pādānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan,[19] which do not bear dates, but on stylistic considerations may be dated to the 13th century.

Sri Jinavijayajī has also discovered a number of illustrated palm-leaves from the Jaisalmer Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, which represent the Jinas, gods and goddesses.[20]. Stylistically, they should belong to the second half of the thirteenth century.

An examination of the miniatures in the first group of the palm-leaf period shows that the subject of painting was confined to the representation of the Tīrthamkaras, gods, goddesses, monks, patrons (both male and female), and very rarely, a king. This is a limited list of subjects and their appeal, more or less, is iconographic. No problem

17. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma* p. 40, Fig. 104.
18. *Ib.*, Figs. 62—65.
19. *Ib.*, Figs. 60–61.
20. *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Hindi-Guj.), III, Pl. 4–5.

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of grouping and perspective troubles the painter, as rarely the number of figures in a composition exceeds four. In full accordance with the simplicity of the subjects, the attitudes and poses are also limited and strictly conventional. The Jinas seated with their legs crossed are shown in full view. In the standing pose the face is generally represented in a modified version of three-quarter profile, with only a slight part of the farther cheek and eye shown, the knees and hip joints are generally stiffly erect, though the *tribhaṅga* pose of the medieval sculpture sometimes adds graceful curves to a standing figure. The postures of sitting at ease are shown in two variations ; in the first, both legs are lowered and rest on a foot-stool ; in the second variation, the left leg is crossed on the seat and the right one allowed to dangle. In another sitting posture, the left leg is gathered and the right one bent and raised. The graceful gestures of the hands or *mudrās*, as they were known, have not yet lost all meaning. The *mudrās*, such as *Añjali* or folded hands to offer respect to gods and teachers, *Vitarka* or the gesture of discussion in which the thumb is joined with the first finger, *Varadā-mudrā* in which the hand is stretched downward with the palm turned outward and the fingers outstretched, and *Kartarihasta* for gracefully holding the symbols by the gods and goddesses with two fingers, the rest being bent, are commonly used. The artistic anatomy of the human body also shows traces of ancient conventions. Broad shoulders and narrow hips are the chief bodily characteristics. The chests of both men and women are full ; a woman's breasts are fully developed and well arched. In the three-quarter view of the face the farther eye is shown protruding, but the protrusion is not so prominent as in the miniatures of the paper period. On the whole the general poses of the figures find their counterpart in the contemporary and even earlier sculptures. Specially, the iconographical conceptions and attributes of the Jinas and the gods and goddesses show an ancient heritage.

As we have already said elsewhere Western Indian art is fundamentally linear, and, therefore, these early palm-leaf miniatures lack depth and appear flat. In certain miniatures, however, crude modelling is attempted by thickening the outline of certain parts of the figure, or by the application of slight colour washes. The miniatures have a restricted colour scheme consisting of vermillion, yellow, blue, white and rarely green. The background is generally brick-red, close to vermilion. "This characteristic persists throughout the entire history of the art, although in paper period two kinds of red are employed for the background in different manuscripts, the old brick-red, or a vermilion and a red containing more purple, and the red is often displaced in whole or part in blue[21]."

The miniatures generally lack any landscape or architectural setting, though, in the miniatures of the *Subāhukathā* (dated 1218 A.D.), a rudimentary landscape with conventional animals and trees is shown.

21. Norman Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, p. 19.

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Fig. 39 to 40

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The history of the second group of palm-leaf painting coincides roughly with the establishment and consolidation of the Muslim power in Gujarāt. Its history starts from roughly 1350 A.D. and lasts till 1450, though, up till now, we have no illustrated manuscript in this group which could be dated prior to 1370 A.D. It is remarkable to notice a considerable improvement in this group of palm-leaf miniatures from the technical and æsthetic points of view. The drawing is finer; to the limited range of subjects of the first period are now added representations of the episodes from the life of the Jinas; every attempt is made to represent finer details, and there is palpable improvement in the colour tones. A natural question arises as to why these improvements were effected in those days of storm and stress, and when the State was also not much enthusiastic about such kind of artistic expression. To answer this question one has to keep before one's mind the greater cultural relations engendered by the Muslim conquest of Gujarāt between the people of Gujarāt and the Persians and the Turks. The Persians had already evolved the art of miniature painting to a great artistic height, and, in Western Indian painting, we see a faint reflection of that achievement. The time was too early and the ancient traditions too deep-rooted to have allowed Western Indian school to adopt such features from Persian art as the calligraphic conception of drawing, aerial perspective, high finish, etc.; nevertheless, we find attempts being made by Western Indian painters to give a lyrical feeling to their line; even fine hair strokes, a Persian characteristic, are resorted to and the use of gold and ultramarine, hitherto unknown in palm-leaf miniatures, is frequently made. All these innovations are Persian and show the earliest advancement in Indian technique; it was, however, reserved for Akbar the Great, who ruled India two hundred years later, to evolve fully an Indo-Persian school which we call Mughal.

The following manuscripts in the second group are noted below :—

There are six miniatures in a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, dated 1370 A.D., in the collection of Mukti Vijayajī Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, at Ujjamphoi Dharmaśālā, Ahmedābād[22]. In the five miniatures represented here (Figs. 54—58), the first represents the descent of Mahāvīra from heaven, the second represents a Jain monk receiving instruction from a Jain teacher, the third depicts the birth of Mahāvīra, the mother, arrayed in finery, lying on the bed fondles the child, the fourth depicts the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and the fifth represents the *Samavasaraṇa* or resting place of Mahāvīra after he had attained *Kevali*-hood.

There are thirty-four miniatures in a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* owned by the Seth Ānandji Mangaljīnī Peḍhīnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Īḍar[23] (Figs. 59—78). Unfortunately, the manuscript does not bear any date. Mr. Sarabhai assigns it to the 14th century, and Mr. C. J. Shah[24] dates it to the thirteenth century, without giving

22. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 41, Figs., 67. 72; 79–81.

23. *Ib.*, p. 41, Figs., 77–78; 82–103; 109–112.

24. *Jainism in North India*, B.C. 800 to A.D. 526.

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any reason. Prof. Norman Brown[25] does not agree with this early dating and gives reason for his disagreement. According to him, these miniatures are stylistically more complicated palm-leaf miniatures known to us, and, therefore, would be naturally expected to come at the end of the palm-leaf period than a century or more before its close. The gold is for the first time used in certain miniatures; this practice was probably learnt from the Persians. On these grounds Prof. Norman assigns the miniatures to the end of the 14th century. The miniatures represent eight auspicious symbols, and the birth and various other episodes from the life of Mahāvīra.

To the same period (end of 14th century) may be assigned four miniatures in the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Siddhahaima Vyākaraṇa* in the collection of Vakhatjī Śerīnā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan.[26] The miniatures (Figs. 79–84) represent the request of Jayasimhadeva to Hemachandrāchārya to write the Vyākaraṇa, the procession of the book on an elephant of the temple of Pārśvanāth, and the request of the minister Karman to Anandaprabha Upādhyāya for getting a copy of the Vyākaraṇa made.

Dr. Norman Brown [27] has tried to indicate the sequences in the stylistic development of the miniatures of the palm-leaf period. He groups the earliest known examples of the school in the manuscript of the *Jñātāsūtra* and other three *Aṅgas*, dated 1127 A.D., under the stylistic classification 'A', and shows that the sequence of this style runs from these early examples through the miniatures in Hemachandra's *Nemicharita* and in the miniatures of the *Sāvagapaḍikamaṇa-sutta* executed in 1260 A.D. In the manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya-kathā* in Pāṭan Bhaṇḍār, dated 1279 A.D., he sees a sub-variety of style 'A', which he calls 'A. 1'. In another illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra*, dated 1278 A.D., in the Sanghvīnā Pāḍānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, he sees the second sub-variety of Style 'A. 1', and designates it 'A. 2'.

Prof. Norman Brown finds the following distinguishing characteristics of the style 'A. 1':—

(1) The relative lack of complication in the ornamentation which characterises the earliest palm-leaf miniatures continues with slight change.

(2) The background remains simple without much architectural detail and room hangings.

(3) The number of figures appearing in the scenes is kept as low as possible.

(4) The details of the costumes and ornaments are suggested rather than indicated with precision.

(5) Thick lines are employed in preference to fine strokes.

The peak of the sub-variety 'A. 1', according to Prof. Norman Brown, reaches in the six illustrations of a manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, dated 1370 A.D., in the collection of the Mukti Vijaya Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Ujjamphoī

25. Norman Brown, *Stylistic Variety of Early Western Indian Painting*, J. I. S. O. A., V, pp. 5–12.

26. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 105–108.

27. *J. I. S. O. A.*, V, pp. 1–12.

Fig. 41 to 42

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Dharmaśālā, Ahmedābād. "The drawing of these paintings is absolutely sure; the full and steady flow from a brush that never wavered, directed by an eye that knew no self doubt. The paintings are entirely intellectual, with little emotional warmth; the conventions of the style are faithfully observed; yet in spite of angularity of bodily pose, which the tradition demands, the figures achieve an alertness, rather than a posturing, which falls just short of vitality."[28] As a successor to this style, Prof. Norman Brown points to the miniature depicting Kāma in the illustrated manuscript of the *Ratirahasya*, datable to early 15th century, in the Sarabhai Nawab collection, and in the illustrations of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* (1451 A.D.).

A-2. This sub-variety, according to Prof. Norman Brown, is distinguished from A-1, by the employment of finer lines and by the accentuation of details. To this group belong the miniatures from the *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, dated 1278 A.D., and painted wooden covers of the *Dharmopadeśamālā*, representing scenes from the life of Pārśva, in the collection of Sarabhai Nawab. The panels are dated 1368 A.D. In these covers the use of fine lines has not developed very far, though the architectural and ornamental details are more developed. There are also rudimentary attempts at shading. In this sub-variety, Prof. Norman Brown places the *Kalpasūtra* owned by Seth Ānandjī Mangaljīnī Peḍhī at Iḍar. The manuscript has thirty-four illustrations, and, on stylistic ground, may be dated at the end of the 14th century. In the illustrations, the details are worked out with great precision. Personal ornaments and architectural details are minutely finished, and fine lines have been used with great care. To the same sub-variety also belongs the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript in the Hamsavijaya Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda. It is probably an early 15th century manuscript, and its ornate marginal designs seem to be composed mostly of Indian decorative elements.

Group B. This style never achieves the careful detail of the second sub-variety of style 'A'. The earliest examples of this style appear in the manuscript No. 1155 of the Śrī Vīra Vijayajī Jain Śvetāmbara Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, at Chhāṇī, near Baroda. It is dated 1161 A.D., and has twenty-one illustrations, most of them being of the Vidyādevīs. The lines in these are not smooth flowing curves as are those of the paintings in style 'A'; rather they consist of parts joined angularly. There is a characteristic treatment of the eyes, which are not drawn as a pair on a continual horizontal axis, as is either the case or nearly the case with the examples of style 'A', but are drawn on separate axes at different levels, so that at the nose the inside corner of one eye is considerably below the level of the inside corner of the other. There is sometimes shading (Fig. 13), which is accomplished by using colour and shaded line.[29]

To this style 'B', Prof. Norman Brown assigns the twenty-three miniatures in the lengthy palm-leaf manuscript of the *Subāhucharita* and eight other *charitas* in the Sanghavīnā Pāḍānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan. It is dated 1288 A.D.

28. *J. I. S. O. A.*, *V* p. 4.

29 *Ib.*, pp. 7-8.

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To the same group belong the painted wooden covers of the *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga Vṛtti*, in the collection of Śrī Punya Vijayajī, dated 1288 A.D. These covers show far less ornamentation and less careful detail than those appearing in other covers cited above, under style A 2, and they may be considered to represent a stylistic continuation of the Chhāṇī manuscript.

To the same group are assigned two miniatures in the Heeramanek collection, representing Pārśvanātha and Abhayadēva. They may be dated to 1450 A.D.

From the detailed examination of the evolution of style A and B by Prof. Norman Brown, it should not be concluded that there were stylistic variations of great magnitude in Western Indian painting, as its principal conventions are followed by all sub-varieties mentioned by Prof. Norman Brown. There is difference in draughtsmanship in various sub-groups as noticed by Prof. Norman Brown, but that may be due to strong or weak draughtsmanship of the painters. The sudden change in the quality of draughtsmanship in the palm-leaf miniatures of the 14th century is not due, in my opinion, to the evolutionary process in the twelfth and thirteenth century art, but to the influence of Persian art which delights in fine draughtsmanship. The absence of architectural and other decorative details in one group and their presence in the other may also be due to the nature of the carrier and the technical proficiency of the painters. That Western Indian school in the 13th and 14th centuries does not follow any universal pattern only shows that the painters of unequal merit existed. The mass production of Jain iconographic types verging on folk-art was naturally the work of mediocres, the works of æsthetic merit being executed by the qualified painters, hence the difference.

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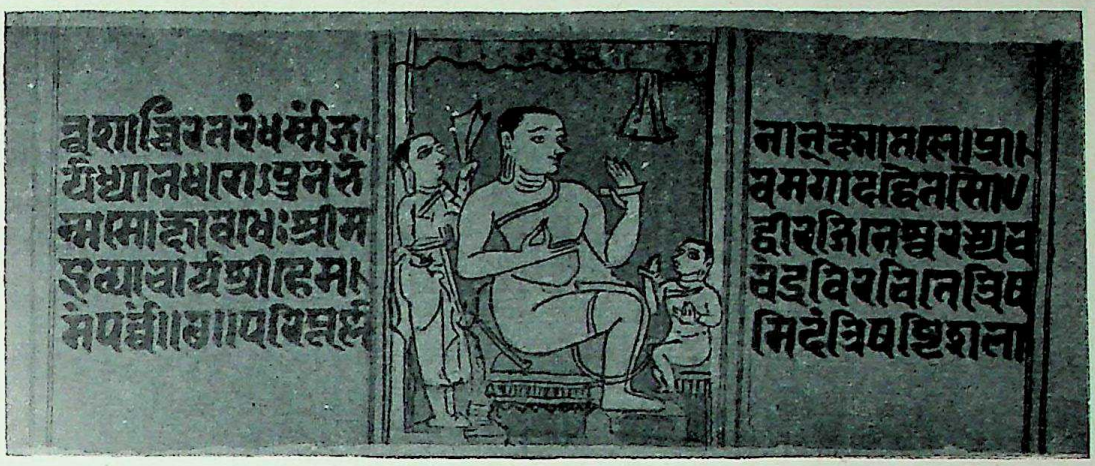

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

Fig. 45

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CHAPTER IV

MINIATURES IN THE PAPER PERIOD (CIRCA 1400—1600 A.D.)

IT is now practically a settled fact that paper as a writing and painting material was introduced on considerable scale in Western India by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the 14th century, though the find of the colophon of a paper manuscript of the *Dhvanyāloka*, a work on poetics, which was written for Jinachandra Sūri (1156—1166 A.D.), shows that paper was known in India even in the twelfth century.[1]

Dr. Hiranand Sastri claimed to possess the earliest illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra*, bearing a date which is equivalent to 1068 A.D.,[2] but from the style of the miniatures it is evident that the manuscript belongs to the early 15th century and the date was copied from some ancient palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra*.

The two earliest known manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* are dated 1415 A.D.; one is in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society[3] and the other (No. 577) in the Ānandjī Kalyānjīnī Pedhīnā Jñānā Bhaṇḍār, Limbdi[4].

Following the above manuscripts comes the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript, dated 1427 A.D., in India Office, London. The manuscript contains forty-six miniatures of which thirty-one belong to the *Kalpasūtra* and thirteen to the *Kālakāchārya-kathā*.[5] The manuscript is not only illustrated but also elaborately decorated.[6] Its 113 leaves are written with silver ink, and the ground is coloured black or red alternatively. A few pages are written in gold, either on red or plain ground. The borders of the page are decorated generally with animal processions (elephants or *hamsas*), floral branches or formal lotus palmette frames, and occasionally with affronted geese, antelopes, or with human figures. Their borders have either a blue, vermilion, crimson or red ground.

To the same period may belong the two miniatures in a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript in the Hemachandrāchārya Jñāna Mandir, Pāṭan. The miniatures reproduced here in colours represent the Goddess Lakshmī and the Moon God (Figs. 85—86).

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1. *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Hindi-Gujarati), III, p. 242.
2. Hirananda Sastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in book illustrations*, p. 10, Baroda, 1936.
3. Dr. H. D. Velankar, *Cat. of the MSS. in B.B.R.A. Society's Library*, No. 1429.
4. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, p. 21.
5. Dr. A. C. Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Jain Art, Jour. of Ind. Art and Industry*, No. 127 (July, 1914), pp. 90-91, see Figs. 9, 12, 45, 50, 51.
6. *Ib.*, Pl. I.

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Their style is very much akin to the style of the miniatures of the palm-leaf period.

To the same period belong miniatures in another manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the Hemachandrāchārya Jñāna Mandir, Pāṭan, two of which we reproduce here (Figs. 87–88). The first represents Indra seated in all his glory, ordering Harinaigamesa to remove the foetus of Devānandā, and the second represents Triśalā with her attendants. The back-ground is red and the figures are painted in gold, their costume is in blue or crimson. The drawing is careful and shows a certain decorative charm.

Then follows, in chronological order, a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript in the collection of Āchārya Jayasurīśvarajī[7]. It is dated 1432 A.D. and has twenty-one illustrations. The miniatures reproduced here represent the prayer of Indra (Fig. 89), and the annual distribution of alms (Fig. 90).

Then comes an illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* with beautiful border decoration. It is now in the Narasimhajīnī polnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda, and once formed a part of the collection of the late Hamsavijayajī. The text is written in golden ink. There are eighty-six pages, eight miniatures and seventy-four borders. The colophon of the manuscript (Figs. 91–92)[8] tells us that the manuscript was written in Vikrama Samvat 1522 (A.D. 1465), at Yavanpur (modern Jaunpur, U.P.), in the reign of Huseyn Shāh, by the order of Harshinī Srāvikā. The floral patterns in the borders (Figs. 93—98) are very beautifully executed, and show the mastery of the artist in purely Hindu patterns [9] and those imported by the Muslim power. In the miniatures scenes from the lives of the Jinas and saints, such as the consecration ceremony of Ṛshabhadēva (Fig. 99),[10] the fourteen dreams of Devānandā (Fig. 100),[11] duel between Bharata and his brother Bāhubalī (Fig. 101),[12] *Kosā* dance and an episode of Ārya Samiti (Fig. 102),[13] Indra holding umbrella over Āryadharma (Fig. 103),[14] the four Samghas worshipping at the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (Fig. 104),[15] and the grief of Triśalā at the immobility of the foetus (Fig 105),[16] are represented.

The composition in these miniatures are done on red ground, and a profuse use of gold, ultramarine, carmine and green, has been made. The drawing conforms to Western Indian tradition; the figures have their farther eyes protruding into space, and their noses and chins are pointed. In the treatment of women (Fig. 100), however, a new point of view is noticeable. Their faces are carefully finished and remind us of the representation of Indian women in early Mughal school. Their lips also wear the stains of lac-dye. The figures are singularly devoid of

7. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 53, Figs. 184, 195.
8. *Ib.*, Figs. 242–243.
9. *Ib.*, Figs. 179, 199, 230-232, 255.
10. *Ib.*, Fig. 1.
11. *Ib.*, Fig. 163.
12. *Ib.*, Fig. 181.
13. *Ib.*, Fig. 196.
14. *Ib.*, Fig. 235.
15. *Ib.*, Fig. 236.
16. *Ib.*, Fig. 233.

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Fig. 46

Fig. 47

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that contortion of body which greatly exaggerates their poses in the late Western Indian art.

After this comes, in chronological order, the best illuminated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in Devasānā Pādā, Ahmedābād, which forms a part of the valuable collection of the late Muni Dayāvimalajī. The text is written in gold ink, and the manuscript was prepared at the behest of the descendant, the great Jain bankers, Śāṇā and Jūṭhā, who lived at Gandhār Bandar, near Broach. It is probably the most beautiful manuscript of its kind and the outstanding feature of its decoration is that it visualises the different musical modes and various dancing poses based on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra.* (Figs. 106—131).[17] The figures of the dancers are remarkably beautiful, and reveal at once the mastery of the painter in catching the spirit of the fleeting movements in dance and translating them through the medium of line and colours. Though the borders are so beautifully painted, the same could not be said of the compositions, which, though imbued with a sense of lightness in drawing, show all the weaknesses of Western Indian art (Figs. 132—135).[18] A very interesting point in the decoration is seen in the scene representing pacification of the serpent Chaṇḍakauśika by Mahāvīra (Fig. 136).[19] The central panel deals with the former birth of the serpent and its final pacification. There is nothing unusual in this from purely æsthetic view-point, but the borders, numbering four, framing these panels are of great interest, as they are definitely derived from the contemporary Persian miniatures. The side borders, divided into four panels each, depict fighting and hunting from horse-backs. The bottom panels show stepped tanks with four people in each tank, taking their bath. The panels have either plain red, green or flowered ground. The costumes of the Persian warriors consisting of turbans and coats is typical of the closing years of the 15th century. In the top panel, framing the figure of Mahāvīra, a pleasing elephant procession is shown proceeding from both sides, and is typically Western Indian in feeling and execution; the bottom panel, however, depicts a battle-scene in which five horsemen in Iranian costume are participating. From the decorative borders of this manuscript, and a few others to be described later, it is evident that Persian art was making inroads in the realm of Indian art, at least hundred years before the foundation of Mughal school by Akbar.

Contemporary in date (Circa 1475), are also the border decorations in a few leaves from a profusely illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Sarabhai Nawab (Figs. 137–138). There are beautiful arabesques, cones and cartouches on indigo, ultramarine and red grounds (Fig. 137), copied from the decorative patterns in the contemporary coloured tiles and other carved decorative motifs from mosques and palaces. Then there are lovely dancing poses on green flowered ground (Fig. 138),

17. *Jaina-chitra, Kalpadruma.* Figs. 117–142.
18. *Ib.*, Figs. 144—147.
19. *Ib.*, Fig. 165.

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scenes of merrymaking as swinging, dancing and music, panels depicting Persian soldiers, duel between two Persians, disporting cranes against a green flowered back-ground, and two panels showing dancing women on yellow and flowered ground.

To the same date, or, perhaps, a little later belongs another manuscript of the *Kalpasutra* (No. 1402) in the Hamsavijayajī collection, Ātmānand Jain Jñāna Mandir, Narasinghjīnī Pol, Baroda. It is written in gold and the borders are decorated with dancing figures (Figs. 139–141)[20], which are rather crudely executed, and floral and animal patterns of great beauty (Figs. 142–146).[21] The miniatures reproduced here represent plucking of the hair, and Mahāvīra being borne on a palanquin (Fig. 147).[22] There is nothing outstanding in their execution.

Then from the point of good workmanship, the illustrated *Kalpasūtra* manuscript in the collection of Upādhyāya Sohanvijayajī of Vijayānanda Surīśvarajīnā Saṅghādā may be noted. The manuscript is dated 1466 A.D., and has forty miniatures. The following miniatures are reproduced :—Harinaigamesa carrying the fœtus of Mahāvīra in the sky (Fig. 148),[23] Triśalā telling about her dream to Siddhārtha (Fig. 149)[24], Triśalā rejoicing at the movement of the fœtus (Fig. 150),[25] the Āmalakī play (Fig. 151)[26], distribution of alms and Mahāvīra being carried on a palanquin for the initiation ceremony (Fig. 152),[27] plucking of the hair (Fig. 153),[28] and the Nirvāṇa of Pārśvanātha (Fig. 154).[29]

To the same period belongs an illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Muni Kāntivijayajī, now in the Ātmanand Jñāna Mandir, Narsinghjīnī Pol, Baroda, its catalogue number being 2189. Its colophon says [30] that the manuscript was written at Maṇḍapadurga (modern Māṇḍogaṛh) in Mālwā. The miniatures reproduced from this manuscript are : the fourteen dreams of Triśalā (Fig. 155)[31], the marriage procession of Neminātha (Fig. 156),[32] the bathroom of Siddhārtha (Fig. 157),[33] keeping awake on the sixth day of the birth of Mahāvīra (Fig. 158),[34] driving stakes into the ears of Mahāvīra (Fig. 159),[35] the giving away of half the garment and the misdemeanour of the cowherd (Fig. 160),[36] Kamaṭha practising penance (Fig. 161),[37] the prowess of Prince Arishṭanemi (Fig. 162),[38] water-sport (Fig. 163),[39] Kośā dance (Fig. 164),[40] the gift of child Vajra (Fig. 165),[41] the twelve-years famine (Fig. 166),[42]

20. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 114—116.
21. *Ib.*, Figs. 176–177, 182–183, 221.
22. *Ib.*, Fig. 162.
23. *Ib.*, Fig. 186.
24. *Ib.*, Fig. 191.
25. *Ib.*, Fig. 192.
26. *Ib.*, Fig. 194.
27. *Ib.*, Fig. 201.
28. *Ib.*, Fig. 202.
29. *Ib.*, Fig. 208.
30. *Ib.*, p. 184.
31. *Ib.*, Fig., 164.
32. *Ib.*, Fig., 180.
33. *Ib.*, Fig., 189.
34. *Ib.*, Fig., 193.
35. *Ib.*, Fig., 204.
36. *Ib.*, Fig., 205.
37. *Ib.*, Fig., 206.
38. *Ib.*, Fig., 212.
39. *Ib.*, Fig., 213.
40. *Ib.*, Fig., 214.
41. *Ib.*, Fig., 226.
42. *Ib.*, Fig., 228.

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Fig. 48

Fig. 49

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writing of the manuscript (Fig. 167),[43] and one of the rules to be observed by the monks (Fig. 168)[44].

To the end of the 15th century also belongs another manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* from the collection of Muni Kāntivijayajī in the Ātmānanda Jñāna Mandir, Baroda, bearing the catalogue number 2188. This manuscript is in a very bad state of preservation, though the golden ink of the text still retains its brilliancy. There are twenty-nine miniatures in all. As a point of interest, on the folio 87 of this manuscript is mentioned the date of the composition of the *Kālakāchārya-kathā* by Āchārya Dharmaprabha Sūri in 1332 A.D.[45].

Besides the manuscripts described above, there are illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Srī Jinavijayajī, dated 1466 A.D., and in the Prince of Wales Museum, dated 1470 A.D.[46] There are also many *Kalpasūtras* in private collections, and it would be an interesting study to analyse the pictorial contents of every one of them, and show how much the pictorial themes differed from one manuscript to another.

The illustrated copy of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, dated 1472 A.D., belongs to the Saṅghavī Maṇḍananā Samgraha, Māṇḍavagarh[47]. Another copy of the *Uttarādhyayana*, bearing no date, but probably datable to the middle of the 15th century, belongs to Sri Hamsavijayajī collection in the Ātmānand Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda. Its catalogue number is 959. One of the miniatures reproduced here represents a monk seated near a tank (Fig. 169)[48]. The importance of these miniatures lies in the fact that they are out of the common run of the *Kalpasūtra* miniatures, and, therefore, of quite refreshing nature.

The most prolific source of Western Indian miniatures, as pointed out, are Śvetāmbara Jain illustrated manuscripts, though, in the paper period illustrated manuscripts concerned with the Devī and Krishṇa cults were also produced. They comprise the popular series of the *Devī Māhātmya*, the *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha* and the *Gītagovinda*.

Devī Māhātmya. All the illustrated manuscripts of the *Devī Māhātmya*, so far traced, belong to the paper period of Western Indian painting and are datable after 1400 A.D. The earliest manuscript (nearly about 15th century), containing twelve miniatures, belongs to the Baroda Art Gallery[49]. Among the early 17th century manuscripts may be mentioned three manuscripts preserved in the treasury of H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Pālanpur.

Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha. The last folio of a manuscript of the *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha*, representing Krishṇa playing on the flute, is in the collection of His

43. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 229.
44. *Ib.*, Fig., 234.
45. *Ib.*, p. 157.
46. *J. B. H. S.*, V (1939), No. 2, p. 136.
47. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 54.
48. *Ib.*, Fig. 256.
49. M. R. Majumdar, *Earliest Devī Māhātmya miniatures with special reference to Sakti Worship in Gujarāt*, *J. I. S. O. A.*, 1938, p. 128. Fig. 168.

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Vrajabhūshanlāljī of Kānkrolī.[50] Both in the colour scheme and the treatment of coiffure and ornaments, this miniature lines up with the old Western Indian traditions. The one notable feature, however, is the absence of the farther eye protruding beyond the facial line. The absence of this characteristic Western Indian feature shows that the manuscript belongs to the transitional period when the three-quarter view of the face was giving place to strict profile. The probable date of this painting is the middle of the 16th century, or even later. The Jodhpur illustrated manuscript of the *Daśama-skandha* with Śrīdhara's *Bhāvārtha* commentary written in old Gujarātī, which explains the content of every picture, is dated 1610 A.D., and records the name of the painter as Govinda, the son of Nārada.[51]

Bālagopāla Stuti. It is the work of Līlāsuka or Bilvamaṅgala, the well-known Vaishṇava saint, sometimes styled as Jayadeva of the South, who came from Tirunavay in British Malabar. He lived sometimes between 1250 to 1350 A.D., and his work seems to have gained popularity in Gujarāt by the end of the 14th century, so that in the following centuries there must have risen a demand for the illustrated versions of his poems as is proved by the illustrated manuscripts of the *Bālagopāla Stuti.*

The discovery of the first series of the *Bālagopāla Stuti* miniatures, in 1929, established the existence of a school of miniature painting in Western India, without reference to Jainism.[52] The manuscript, now in the Boston Museum,[53] has forty miniatures and is dated by Prof. Norman Brown to the middle of the 15th century. "In these miniatures additional elements (than the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya-kathā* manuscripts) appear in the compositions, particularly in the wider use of the foliage decoration, a great number of animals and birds, the more profuse illustrations of architectural settings, the picturing of domestic and other new types of scenes. The drawing becomes more delicate and refined, the composition more complicated; new bodily poses appear." The second copy of the *Bālagopāla Stuti* is in the possession of the Baroda Museum.[54] Stylistically, the miniatures are very similar to those of the first manuscript. The third copy, in the possession of Mr. B. J. Sandesara, probably represents a sub-variety of the common paper period style of Western Indian painting (Figs. 170—173).[55] The miniatures reproduced here depict the worship of the four-handed Krishṇa—Krishṇa receiving toll from the cowherdesses, amour of Krishṇa with the cowherdesses, and the dalliance of Krishṇa in the forest. As observed by Dr. Majumdar, the artist has made efforts at shading the faces of the human figures, their costume, the architectural designs and the decorative patterns. The lines are thick and angular. The eyes are drawn on different levels, a characteristic feature of the miniatures in the

50. *J. I. S. O. A.*, 1942, p. 16, Pl. I, Fig. 1.
51. *Ib.*, p. 17.
52. *Journal of the Andhra His. Re. Society*, IV. Pts. 1-2 (1929), pp. 86—88; *Ind. Art and Letters*, IV No. 2 (1930), pp. 104—115; *Malaviya Com. Vol.*, p. 285, Benares, 1932.
53. *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, pp. 167—206.
54. *J. I. S. O. A.*, 1942, p. 26, Pts. III, 2 and IV.
55. *Ib.*, Pl. V, 1-2; *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 251—254.

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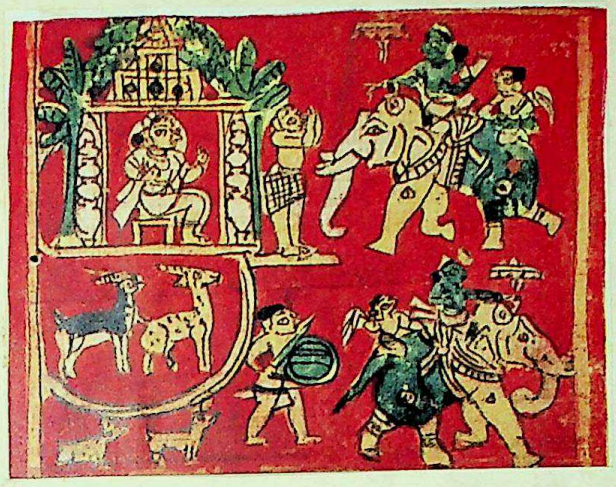

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

Fig. 52

Fig. 53

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palm-leaf manuscript from Chhāṇī, and on the whole the paintings are crude. The fourth manuscript of the *Bālagopāla Stuti* [56] may be dated to the early 17th century, and belongs to the Rājaratna Nārāyaṇabhāī Saṇskrit Pāṭhāśālā, Peṭlād. The fifth manuscript, belonging to the same collection, has twenty-nine miniatures which may be dated to the early 17th century, and are executed after the Rājpūt style.[57] The figures are in profile and new types of costume and ornaments appear.

Gītagovinda. The *Gītagovinda*, a collection of devotional and erotic lyrics by Jayadeva (12th century), deals with the love episodes of Rādhā and Krishṇa. It seems that the devotional side of the *Gītagovinda* found great favour in Gujarāt. The earliest illustrated manuscript of the *Gītagovinda* belongs to the collection of Pandit Bala shankar Bhaṭṭaji Agnihotri, the hereditary priest of the Kalkāmāta temple, Pāvāgaḍh Hills in eastern Gujarāt.[58] It has seven miniatures which Dr. Majumdar assigns on good grounds to the middle of the fifteenth century.[59] The style of the miniatures is the same as that of the Śvetāmbara Jain miniatures. At the top of each miniature, there is either an architectural setting or a blue line indicating the sky. At times floral designs framing these lines enhance the beauty of the miniatures. The colours employed are brick-red used for background, green, blue, yellow, pink, pure and pearly whites, the last was used to paint the jewellery and floral decorations.

There is another manuscript of the *Gītagovinda* in the collection of Mr. N. C. Mehta.[60] The illustrations framed by the borders of red lines cover the entire page with the relevant Sanskrit text inscribed at the top. " In style and in the quality of the pictures, the manuscript is remarkable. The drawing is swift, precise and vital, and the artist moves from one incident to another with a sense of confidence and sure improvisation. The figures are more alive than in any of the known examples of Gujarāt painting. The colouring is brilliant, warm and striking, though the palette is limited chiefly to the use of reds, blues, whites and greens. There is no attempt at subtle combinations or producing an impression of impeccable or ingenious craftsmanship. The pictures have an atmosphere of intimacy and studied simplicity both of line and colour would appear to be understood equally well by the artist and his audience. Almost every picture would have made a magnificent mural. It was as if the art of fresco had been abridged into the folios of the manuscript."[61] Mr. N. C. Mehta, on various considerations, prefers to date the miniatures to the latter part of the 15th or the early years of the 16th century.[62] I, for myself, am unable to subscribe to this view. The miniatures have none of the distinguishing features of Western Indian school such as

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56. *J. I. S. O. A.*, 1942, p. 27, Pl. VI, 1.
57. *Ib.*, Pl. VI, 2.
58. M. R. Majumdar, *A fifteenth century Gītagovinda Manuscript with Gujaratī Painting*, Journal of the University of Bombay, VI (May, 1938), p. 124.
59. *Ib.*, p. 125, Pls. IV—X.
60. N. C. Mehta, *A new document of Gujarātī painting version of Gītagovinda*, Journal of the Gujarāt Research Society, VII, No. 4 (Oct., 1945), pp. 139—146.
61. *Ib.*, pp. 141–142.
62. *Ib.*, p. 144.

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farther eyes protruding into space, extreme angularity of drawing, etc. There could be little doubt that the miniatures belong to that transitional phase of Western Indian art, when the early Mughal art was deeply influencing the indigenous conventions. Even the male costume is typically of Akbar period, including the *chākdār jāmah*, trousers and the *atpaṭi* turban. There is nothing to prove that such typical late 16th century costume existed before the Mughal period in Gujarāt. I would prefer to date the manuscript to circa 1575 A.D., or even a little later.

Ratirahasya. It seems that Kokkoka Bhaṭṭa's *Ratirahasya*, a work on erotics written in the thirteenth century, was very popular in Gujarāt. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab possesses a complete manuscript of the *Ratirahasya*, datable to the middle of the 15th century, or a little later. In the very first folio is depicted the picture of Kāmadeva[63] (Fig. 174). In the same collection, there is a folio from another illustrated manuscript of the *Ratirahasya*,[64] which has an illustration in the margin on both sides, depicting a *Nārī Kuñjara* procession. The elephant is made entirely of the figures of women and is ridden by Kāma shooting arrows. Protruding eyes appear, which probably show the comparative lateness of the picture.

After the introduction of paper for writing and illustrations in Western India, the technical processes in painting underwent changes. Paper afforded larger space to the painters than the palm-leaf, and with the progress of time this space continued to increase in dimension. Not only that paper as carrier was better suited for painting than palm-leaf, but larger space also meant bigger compositions and greater representation of details. These are the reasons why sumptuous illustrations with fine border decorations appear in the paper period.

A radical change was also effected in the choice of colours. Wherever yellow was used in the palm-leaf miniatures, its place was taken up by gold, though the use of yellow was not altogether prohibited. Gold and silver inks were also used for writing. As the years rolled on, the use of gold increased, and gilding became such a fascination that the painters were not even deterred to paint the costumes of the Jain monks in gold, with the decoration painted in white or red dots. Such was the decline in æsthetic taste that it became a maxim with the painters that greater the application of gold better the effects of other colours came out. This partiality for the giltter of the gold led to the invention of a new process by which at first the entire ground was covered with gold and then other colours were applied. In this period the use of ultramarine blue as well increased to a very considerable extent, and in many instances the entire ground was covered with it. Carmine and orange yellow are also used frequently, and a colour of intermediate shade between the carmine and minium became favourite.

The subject matter of painting also underwent changes. The representations of the Tīrthamkaras, gods, goddesses, monks and nuns and donors, which were favourite

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63. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 85, Fig. 155. 64. *Ib.*, pp. 83—84, Fig. 143.

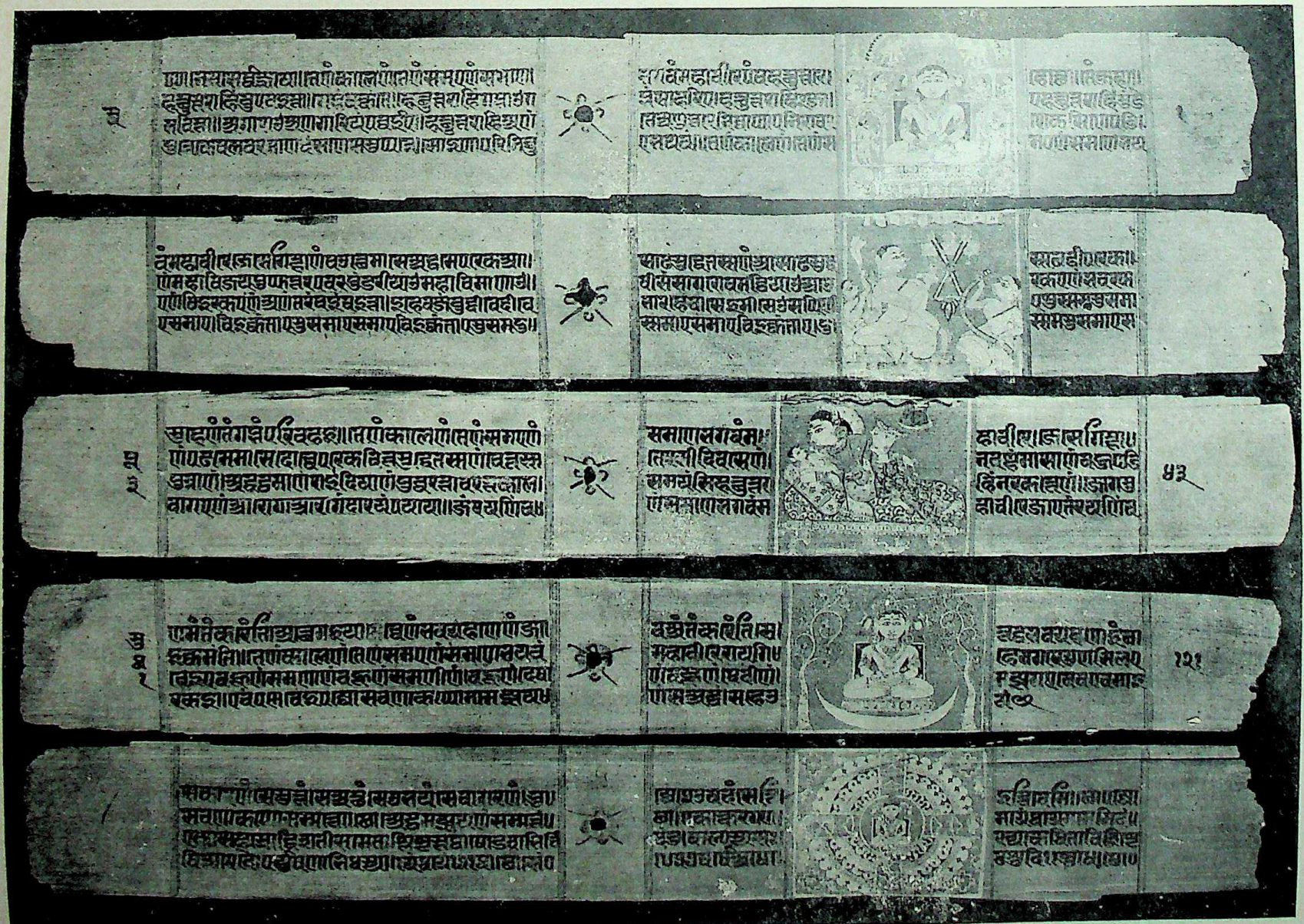

Fig. 54 to 58

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subjects in the palm-leaf period, were gradually replaced with more elaborate scenes, representing episodes from the lives of the Tīrthamkaras. After the Persian fashion, the borders of the *Kalpasūtras* were at times profusely decorated, a feature unknown in the palm-leaf period.

Such was the popularity of miniature painting among the Jains in this period that even the Vaishṇavas and the worshippers of Devī thought it fit to decorate their sacred books with illustrations.

From the similarity of the costumes, ornaments and other decorations, appearing in the Jain and Vaishṇava manuscripts of the paper period, it is evident that in social manners and customs there was no difference between the two great communities, and that the painters have preserved a faithful record of certain features of the social life of the contemporary Western India.

It is a well-known fact to the students of Western Indian painting that the paper period was prolific in the production of innumerable Jain manuscripts. It is mentioned in the *Vīravamśāvalī* that, in 1394 A.D., Sangrāma Sonī, a Jain house-holder, spent lacs of golden coins in the preparation of the manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya-kathā* for the benefit of the Jain monks.[65] Such was the demand for learning and anxiety to preserve the ancient stores of knowledge for the posterity that Jinabhadra Sūri spent the best part of his life in establishing Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs or store-houses of knowledge, and it was through his efforts that libraries were established in the recognised centres of the Jains such as Jaisalmer, Javalpuri, Devagiri, Ahipura, Pāṭaṇ, etc.[66]

Before the time of Jinabhadra Sūrī only palm-leaves were used for writing, but during his life-time paper became a cheaper and more efficient material for writing. In this period copies of palm-leaf manuscripts on paper were extensively made. This work of preserving the record of palm-leaf manuscripts on paper was carried out by the scribes working under Devasundara Sūrī and Somasundara Sūrī in Gujarāt, and under Jinabhadra Sūri in Rājputānā. It was through the efforts of such great men that even a part of the great treasure house of the medieval learning has been saved to us to acquaint us with the glories of the people of Gujarāt in the fields of art and literature.

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65. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 57.

66. *Ib.*, fn. 46.

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CHAPTER V

PAINTING ON CLOTH

PIECES of coarsely woven cloth (*khaddar*) were extensively used as carrier for painting in ancient India. In the *Samyutta Nikāya*[1], the use of cloth (*dussa-paṭa*) along with the well polished wooden panel (*suparinmattha phalaka*), is mentioned for painting. In the *Visuddhimagga* [2], canvas is mentioned as the ground or support of painting. In the *Mahāvamsa*,[3] the representation of a palace drawn with cinnabar on cloth is mentioned, which seems to mean a scroll containing the representation of a story. In the *Dutavākya* of Bhāsa, Duryodhana describes a canvas picture, depicting Draupadī being dragged by hair. The *Kāmasūtra* also mentions painting on cloth.[4] The *Pañchadaśī* of Mādhavāchārya[5], while discussing the four modes of higher self, compares them with the four conditions of canvas painting. The canvas is washed (*dhauta*), burnished (*ghaṭṭita*), drawn upon (*lāñchchhita*) and coloured (*rañjita*).

In spite of innumerable references to painting on cloth in ancient India, no examples of such painting are known prior to the fourteenth century. This may be attributed to the perishable nature of cloth and the wanton destruction of art treasures and manuscripts which followed in the wake of foreign invasions. The earliest cloth-paintings, which have survived, belong to the fourteenth century. In the three paintings available, two are the *mantra paṭas* or the mystic diagrams with the figures of the Jinas and Tantric gods and goddesses of Taruṇaprabhāchārya and Bhāvadeva Sūri, and the third is a *Samgrahaṇī Ṭippaṇaka Paṭa*.

The first in date may be the *Chintāmaṇi Yantra* (Fig. 175), measuring $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 17\frac{1}{2}''$, in the collection of Mr. Agarchand Nahta. This cloth-painting has the inscribed portrait of Taruṇaprabhāchārya and was perhaps painted during his life-time. It is known that Taruṇaprabhāchārya composed the *Sadāvaśyaka-Vṛttikā Bālāvabodha* in Vikrama Samvat 1411 (A.D. 1354), and, therefore, the date of the painting should fall in the third quarter of the 14th century. The painting depicts Pārśvanātha seated on a *simhāsana* placed within the concentric magical circles. He is attended by Dharaṇendra, Padmāvatī and the *chaurī*-bearers. On the top left is Pārśva Yaksha and on the top right, the goddess Vairoṭyā. In between these two are a couple of Gandharvas. On the lower right corner is Taruṇaprabhāchārya with two disciples, and on the left

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1. *Samyutta Nikāya*, II, pp. 101-102; III, p. 152.
2. *Visuddhimagga*, 535.
3. *Mahāvamsa*, XXVII, 18.
4. *Kāmasūtra*, p. 269, Benares Edition.
5. *The Pandit*, New Series, Vol. VI, pp. 489—491.

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Fig. 59

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corner there are two more disciples. Outside the circle are two *chaurī*-bearers. Colours such as white, red, crimson, yellow, indigo, ultramarine, black, and green are used. Gold is used sparingly in painting the ornaments and the *mukuṭas*. There is nothing outstanding in figure drawing which conforms to the contemporary Western Indian school as depicted in the Ḷdar palm-leaf manuscript.

The second *Sūrī Mantrapaṭa*, measuring $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 19''$ (Fig. 176), belongs to the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab. It represents Bhāvadeva Sūri and was probably prepared for his use. This Bhāvadeva Sūri is known to have composed the *Pārśvanātha Charita* in Vikrama Samvat 1412 (A.D. 1355), and, therefore, the date of this painting should also fall in the third quarter of the 14th century. The painting represents Gautama-Svāmī, the first disciple of Mahāvīra, seated on a full blown lotus, attended by a monk on each side. Outside the circle, on the top left, is represented Kālī riding a horse, and on the top left Bhairava. On the bottom left is Dharaṇendra, and on the bottom right the goddess Padmāvatī. In the centre is a *navagraha* panel, and outside the circle stands a monk on either side. The colours employed are red, yellow, black, green and ultramarine blue.

The painted scroll of the *Samgrahaṇī Ṭippaṇaka-paṭa* on cloth, in the collection of Śrī Muni Jasavijayajī, measures $13'—10'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$, and is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1453 (A.D. 1396).[6] Unfortunately, no further details of the painted scroll are known.

The next cloth painting, probably dating to the early 15th century, belongs to the collection of Dr. Coomaraswamy. The central panel of this painting depicts Pārśvanātha enthroned in a temple of which the *śikhara*, adorned with a flag and approached by a Siddha, occupies the square immediately above. To the right and left of Pārśvanātha are narrow panels occupied by the Nāga Dharaṇendra and the Yakshiṇī Padmāvatī, and in the panel on the extreme left is Indra, and on the extreme right is again Padmāvatī. Above, on the left, is represented the *Samavasaraṇa* of Pārśvanātha (note the Jina with three reflections of himself, occupying the centre, as described in the text), and on the right five *Omkāra* ideographs and the five Siddhas (?) seated above the crescent of the Śiddhaśilā (?). Below, on the left, is Sudharmāsvāmī, and on the right Gautamasvāmī, and in the two intervening panels are represented Navagrahas.

The size of the original is 30 cm. square. The colours used are vermilion (background), crimson, pink, blue, green, black, white and gold (chiefly the square of gold-leaf over which the central figure of the Jina is drawn). The cloth was primed before painting. Dr. Coomaraswamy assigns it to the 16th century, but this is rather too conservative an estimate, as the painting bears a close resemblance to the *Pañchatīrthī Paṭa*, dated 1433 A.D., to be described later.[7] It should be dated not later than 1450 A.D. Another point of interest in this painting is the panel of the five Siddhas, whose true

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6. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, p. 26, fn. 33.

7. Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Jaina art, Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 127 (July, 1914), p. 96, Pl. XII, Fig. 57.

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identification leads to the recognition of the site of the temple. As we shall see later on, these five figures represent the five Pāṇḍāva brothers, who, according to the Jaina tradition, attained salvation at Śatruñjaya. If our identification is correct, then this painting represents one of the temples at Śatruñjaya.

The painted scroll of the *Pañchatīrthī*, one of the most important documents of Western Indian painting, is in the collection of the Jain Tāḍapatrīya Pustak Bhaṇḍār.[8] This pictorial roll is made up of two carefully joined strips of cloth, the first of which is somewhat wider than the other. The entire roll, measuring 30 feet in length and 12 inches in breadth, is in good state of preservation. The cloth is closely woven *khaddar* which has been specially treated to smoothen the surface on which the painting has been done, and to stiffen it on the other side. The object of this roll is purely pictorial and has nothing to do with manuscript illustration.

There are two legible inscriptions, one below the figure of Pārśvanātha and the other below the figure of Śāntinātha, on the roll, which tell us that the scroll was painted in Samvat 1490 (A.D. 1433), by the order of two patrons Koṭhārī Vāghāka and Sāha Guṇiyaka, both hailing from Chāmpāner in Gujarāt and both belonging to Prāgvāṭ, the modern Porwāl community.

There are altogether seven paintings in the scroll, the largest being $4' \times 9''$, and the smallest $1' \times 9''$. The paintings do not form a continuous series, but are separated by blank spaces which were probably also intended to be filled with paintings, but the idea did not materialise owing to some unforeseen circumstances. As Mr. N. C. Mehta has committed many slips in the description of these paintings, I went through the scroll with Mr. Sarabhai, and with his help was able to identify most of the scenes.

(1) The length of the picture is $26\frac{1}{2}''$. The upper portion of the *śikhara* is lost. This painting was prepared at the order of Sāha Guṇiyaka, as the inscription below says. Within the sanctum is seated green coloured and serpent hooded Pārśvanātha, and not Supārśvanātha, as observed by Mr. N.C. Mehta. On his right stands probably Shāh Guṇiyaka with folded hands, and on the left, an unnamed Jain monk, probably the teacher of Guṇiyaka.

(2) Its length is $20\frac{1}{2}''$. A half finished *maṇḍapa* of a temple is represented. Near the *kalaśa* are seen three red-faced monkeys engaged in a dance. One of them plays the cymbals, another plays on the pipe and a third one is dancing (Fig.177). The scene is full of sparkling humour, and seems to be a satire, as it were, on the contemporary dancers.

(3) After a blank space of twenty-six inches, the third picture, measuring $4'$ $9''$, in length, commences. The *śikhara*, measuring 2 ft. with the flag, is decorated profusely with floral scrolls and other designs. At the top, there is a panel on red ground,

8. N. C. Mehta, *A picture roll from Gujarat, Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VI (New Series), pp. 71—78.

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Fig. 60

Fig. 61

Fig. 62

Fig. 63

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

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representing seven human figures, five men and two women. They are yellow-coloured and wear white garments. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab identifies these figures as those of the five Pāndavas, their wife Draupadī and their mother Kuntī, and, on the strength of his identification, recognises in the drawing the representation of Śatruñjaya, the famous place of Jain pilgrimage. It is related in Jain literature[9] that the five Pāṇḍava brothers, together with their wife and mother and crores of Jain monks, attained salvation on Śatruñjaya. A temple at Śatruñjaya contains their marble images. Below the above mentioned panel is depicted Indra, but the rest of the scene is to obliterated that identification is not possible. There is an yellow flag attached to the spire, and the principal and subsidiary *śikharas* are mounted with *kalaśas* and are beautifully decorated. On the left side of the *śikhara*, there are two scenes, one of which is entirely defaced, while in the second, only a part of a cobra is seen. On the strength of this, Mr. Sarabhai identifies it with the temple of Rāyanpaglā which exists even to-day at the back of the main temple of Ṛshabhanātha at Śatruñjaya, and which has nearby a panel representing a peacock and snake. In the next panel, there is the representation of a tank, near which stands a man; probably this is the representation of the Sūryakuṇḍa on Śatruñjaya. Then, there is the temple of Ṛshabhadeva decorated with the figures of attendants, gods, *navagraha*, etc. To the left of this temple is the temple of Vāsupūjyasvāmī, the twelfth Tīrthamkara. His colour is red, and his symbol, the buffalo, is also represented on the pedestal. Even to-day, in the principal temple of Ṛshabhadeva at Śatruñjaya, the image of Vāsupūjyasvāmī exists. Below the *navagraha* panel is situated the entrance to the temple on whose steps is shown a worshipper with folded hands. Even to-day, from the steps leading to the sanctum of Ṛshabhadeva, a worshipper is able to see the image. From these details, it is evident that the painter had an intimate knowledge of the principal temple of Śatruñjaya. The *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple is paved with square slabs, and, immediately below, the merlons indicate the defence wall of the fort.

After this, beyond the yellow line, a new episode begins. Here are represented monks, nuns and laymen ascending the hill, on the left. On the right may be seen a tiger. The scene immediately following is separated from the former by an yellow line. Here is represented the congregation of pilgrims gathered at the foothills of Śatruñjaya (Fig. 178). On the left is painted the *Samavasaraṇa* of Pārśvanātha, perhaps meant for the edification of the pilgrims. Even to this day in Gujarāt, such scenes are shown at the religious festivals. In the panel, there is a tank around which are grouped a number of scenes. This tank may be identified with the Lalitasarovara built by Vastupāla-Tejapāla on the foothills of Śatruñjaya. Nearby is a golden image of a Tīrthamkara within a pavilion, and near it, on a bullock chariot, there is

9. *Jñātā Dharmakathā; Satruñjaya Māhātmya, Vividha Tīrthakalpa*, p. 2, s. 30.

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another image. Such images are carried in procession on religious occasions, even to this day, in Gujarāt. Near the chariot is seated a man taking flowers from a flower-stand, while a servant is ready to pour water over the flowers to wash them clean, as they were to be offered to the Jinas. Near the servant is seen a Jina image with a man standing with folded hands. In another scene are shown the conveyances and a man enjoying a dance, in which a woman is dancing and two men are playing on the drums and the *shahnāī*. Probably, these dancers and musicians are pilgrims, giving performance in honour of their gods. In another group is shown a Jain monk preaching to his disciples. The painting ends in a beautiful *toraṇa*, with its capitals decorated with the friezes of dancing figures.

(4) The painting, measuring 2′ 10½″, in length, represents the temple of Śāntinātha. The golden image seated in *padmāsana* is attended by the *devas*, *chaurī*-bearers, etc., and worshipped by monks, laymen and laywomen, with folded hands. The *maṇḍapa* in front is decorated with square stone slabs inlaid with floral decorations. On the top left side of the *śikhara* is shown a Brahmin, as his sacred thread and pigtail indicate, playing on a trumpet (Fig. 179). On one side is a man holding a *jhārī* in the attitude of ascending, and on his other side is a woman holding an indistinguishable object in the right hand and a pair of cymbals in the left. Mr. Sarabhai recognises in the scene the Brahmin priest of the Jain temple, a pilgrim carrying milk and water, which he is expected to pour while ascending the hills, and a woman pilgrim playing on the cymbals in honour of the Jina. This custom of pouring water or milk, while ascending the hill of Śatruñjaya, is still followed by the Jain pilgrims. Just below, towards the right, is shown a forester extracting thorn from the foot of a standing woman, who wears a *cholī* and skirt, and holds a bow. An antelope stands nearby (Fig. 180).

(5) The picture, measuring 4′ 2″, represents Girnār. In a beautifully decorated temple, the image of Neminātha with his symbol of the conchshell is seen. He is attended by a host of gods, the *chaurī*-bearers, etc. Outside the sanctum stand two men and two women with folded hands. Then comes the open *maṇḍapa* followed by a scene representing the hill with the pilgrims trekking (Fig. 181). In the panel below, one may see the congregation engaged in worshipping or resting. Below this scene are shown a priest playing on the cymbals, a woman dancing, and a man playing on the pipe (Fig. 182).

(6) The picture, measuring 4′ 4″, represents the Sammeta Śikhara. The temple is beautifully decorated and in the sanctum rests the image of Pārśvanātha (Fig. 183), attended by a host of gods, goddesses, musicians, *chaurī*-bearers, etc. After this, an open platform is represented. Below is a panel representing pilgrims ascending the hill, some hearing to the religious discourses and others resting (Fig. 184). In the end are represented two pilgrims equipped with staffs, treading their way (Fig. 185).

(7) The last picture represents the temple of Mahāvira Svāmi at Pāvāgaṛh, near Chāmpāner. The Jina is attended by the gods and musicians. Outside the sanctum stand two men and women with folded hands and two Jain monks. At the bottom

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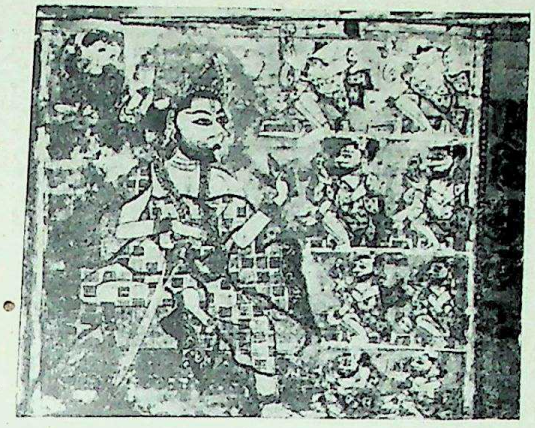

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

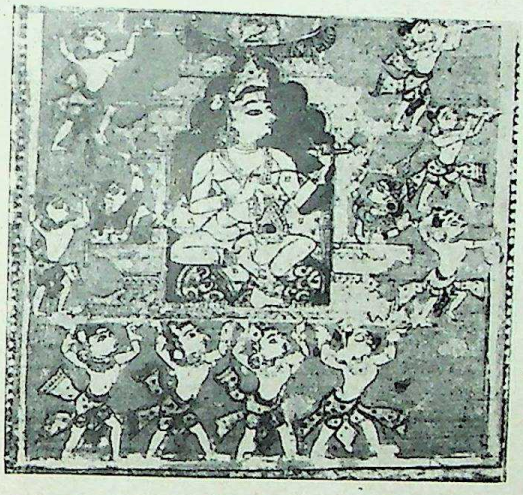

Fig. 68

Fig. 69

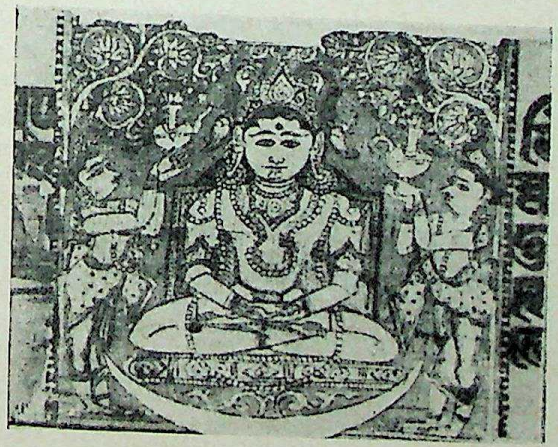

Fig. 70

Fig. 71

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Fig. 72

Fig. 73

Fig. 74

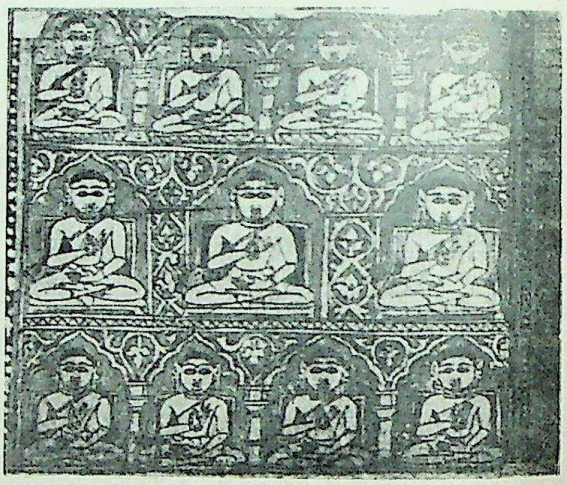

Fig. 75

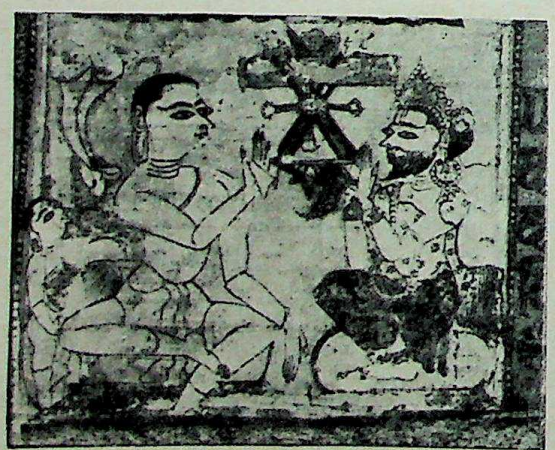

Fig. 76

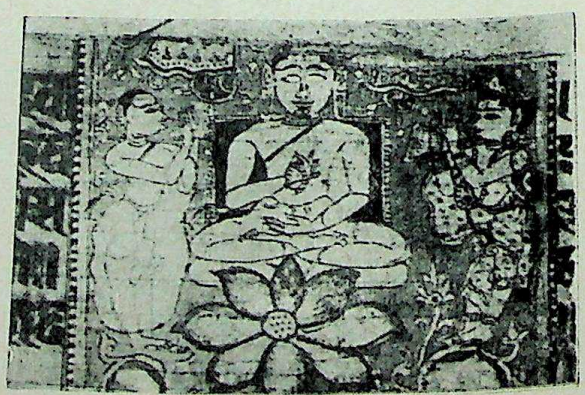

Fig. 77

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are seen two women dancing and playing on the cymbals and the *vīṇā* (Fig. 186). They are florists, as is evident from their flower baskets. One wears a red tunic, and the other a red *cholī* and blue skirt.

The outstanding feature of this roll is the size of the drawings which is unique, as far as the mediæval Western Indian painting of the 14th and 15th centuries is concerned. It is difficult to say whether the paintings reproduce exactly the Jain temples as they existed in various centres of Jain pilgrimage, though it must be admitted that the painter shows great familiarity, at least, with the temples of Śatruñjaya. Anyway, the pictures give us a vertical elevation of Jain temples, as it were. Another peculiar feature of these temples is that they seem to have been decorated with inlaid stone work.

While the drawings of the Tīrthamkaras follow stereotyped formulas, the scenes of pilgrimage with people toiling over the hills, resting, dancing, worshipping, or hearing to the religious discourses of their preceptors, are of considerable interest. It is noteworthy that, while the drawings follow the conventional formulas of the 15th century, there is a certain smoothness which imparts a lyrical quality to the lines, and, in this respect, the illustrations of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* stand nowhere near them. The drawing is extremely fine in No. 7, and is reminiscent of the wall-paintings of Ellura and the palm-leaf manuscripts of Bengal. The treatment of nature follows the same hide-bound mediæval formulas. "It is only when we come to the representations of the dancing way-farers, the weary pilgrims, the discoursing *sādhus* or the devout worshippers that the purely æsthetic interest is aroused, and that is perhaps the principal point of difference from the latter but more archaic pictures of *Vasanta Vilāsa*." [10]

Probably of the same date (middle of the 15th century), as the *Panchatīrthī* scroll, is a cloth painting, representing the *Samavasaraṇa* of Ṛshabhadeva, measuring 21″×21″, in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab (Fig. 187). For the proper understanding of this picture an account of the *Samavasaraṇa* must be given. This is briefly a walled enclosure prepared by Indra or minor gods, intended for the delivery of a religious discourse by a Jina, immediately after he becomes a *Kevalin*. The following description of a *Samavasaraṇa* is extracted from *Samavasaraṇa Stavana*.[11]

"2. Wherever the Jinas exhibit the condition of *Kevalin*, in which all substances manifest themselves, there the Princes of the Air (Vāyu-Kumāras) cleanse the earth for one *Yojana* all around. 3. The Cloud princes (Megha-kumāras) rain down fragrant water, the gods of the seasons spread heaps of flowers, and the Vāna-Vyantaras make the earth variegated with ruby, gold and gems. 4. There are three ramparts; the innermost, intermediate and outermost. (The first) is constructed of gems, with the battlement of rubies, by the Vaimānakas; (the second) of gold, with the battlements of gems constructed by Jyotishkas; (and the third) of silver, with the battlement

10. *Journal of Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. VI (New Series), p. 78.

11. Bhandarkar, *Jaina Iconography*, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XL, pp. 125–130 and 153–161; Dr. Coomaraswamy, *loc-cit.*, p. 87.

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of gold, by the Bhavanapatis. 5. In a round *Samavasaraṇa* the ramparts are 33 *dhanus* and 33 *angulas* wide, 500 *dhanus* high, and 1 *krosá* 600 *dhanus* (counting both sides) distant from each other. Each rampart has four gates made of gems. 9. In the centre is a gem studded pedestal, with four doors, three steps, and as high as the figure of the Jina, 200 *dhanus* broad and long, two and half *krośas* high from the ground level. 10. (In the centre of the dias stands) the Aśoka tree, twelve times as high as the body of the Jina, and exceeding a *yojana* in breadth. Then (underneath) is (a pedestal called) *devacchamda*, (and on it) four lion-thrones accompanied by (four) footstools. (The four lion-thrones are occupied by the Jina himself on the East, and on the other sides by three reflections of the Jina, produced by the Vāna-Vyantaras). 12. At every gate the Vāna-Vyantaras put up flags, parasols, *makaras*, ... garlands, pitchers, a triple arch (*toraṇa*), and incense vases. 14. Having entered from the East and from the left to right, having sat on a seat facing the East, having placed his feet on a foot-stool, and having saluted the congregation (*tīrtha*), the Lord discourses on the Law. (The congregation consists of gods, men and animals). 18. . . . . There are two step-wells in each corner when it is square, and one (at each gateway) when it is a round *Samavasaraṇa*."

In the *Samavasaraṇa* scene of Ṛshabhadeva referred to above, there is a garden in the centre with Aśoka trees and decoratively treated lakes with the *hamsas*. The garden is approached by four gates. Framing the garden are four figures of yellow coloured Ṛhshabhadeva seated in *padmāsana* holding *bijorā* fruits. He wears elaborate ornaments and is surrounded by musicians, the *chaurī*-bearers and attendants. Each seat is decorated with a panel of eight auspicious symbols. On the four sides are represented forts with three-fold defensive walls. Within the first fort are shown gods, goddesses, men and women; in the second fort are animals; in the third various conveyances such as horses, elephants, palanquins, bullocks, chariots, etc.; and in the fourth fort, Ṛshabhadeva is shown taking rest after preaching for three hours. On the four extreme corners of the painting are represented lakes and animals with altogether different nature, such as peacock and serpent, etc., which are born enemies.

The painting follows the stereotyped conventions of Western Indian school. The colours employed are white, red, crimson, yellow, ultramarine, black and green. Gold is used for delineating the ornaments and the *mukuṭas*.

The culmination of that lyrical quality, which is emphasised in the Panchatīrthī painting described above, is reached in two cloth paintings—one representing Pārśvanātha and the other Jambūdvīpa, the former in the collection of Muni Amaravijayajī[12] and the latter in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab.

The cloth painting, in the collection of Muni Amaravijayajī, represents Pārśvanātha, with a thousand headed snake-canopy over his head, standing against a watery

12. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, pp. 212–213, Fig. 282.

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Fig. 78

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back-ground, his legs resting on the thighs of the squatting Dharaṇendra (Fig. 188). The right hand of the Jina rests over the head of Meghamālī Deva and the left over Kamaṭha, in the garb of an ascetic. In the left hand intermediate panel is seen Dharaṇendra, with a *chaurī*-bearer standing behind, in the right hand intermediate panel is shown Padmāvatī Devī attended by a *chaurī*-bearer. In the square panels on four corners of the painting are represented famous places of Jain pilgrimage. On the top left is Śatruñjaya identified by the presence of the five Pāṇḍavas with their mother and wife, peacock and snake, the slab depicting the scene still available near Rāyaṇpaglā temple at Śatruñjaya, Marudevā riding an elephant on a visit to her son,[13] the presence of Vāsupujyasvāmī's image near that of Ṛsabhadeva, and the representation of Śatruñjaya hill in the bottom panel. On the top right corner is represented Girnār with the temple of Neminātha, with gods and goddesses prominent among them being Pārśva Yaksha. In the bottom left corner is depicted Ashṭāpada with the temple of Ṛshabhanātha, containing the images of Bharata and Bāhubalî as well,[14] and on the bottom right is the temple of Pārśvanātha at Śammeta Śikhara. In this square may be seen the images of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī. All the squares described above have hills depicted at their bottom, which are the haunts of animals, such as lion and deer, and birds. The enthusiastic pilgrims ascending the hills are also shown.

This cloth-painting is imbued with a lyrical feeling which is almost unknown to Western Indian art. The linear aspect of Western Indian art is there and makes itself felt in the pointed nose and chin, but the harshness of the angularity is greatly toned down by the flowing curves of the shoulders and the elbow bends, and, above all, by the flowing lines of the drapery. It is remarkable that the protrusion of the farther eye, a characteristic feature of Western Indian art, is entirely absent. However, there is nothing to dub it as a later work, and there are features, such as an effort at modelling which gives the painting an archaic look and places it in the same line as the Pāla paintings from Bengal. In any case, the painting does not seem to be later than the middle of the 14th century.

The cloth-painting, measuring 30″ × 28″, in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab, depicts Jambūdvīpa (Fig. 189). It may be dated to the middle of the 16th century, or a little earlier. In the centre are concentric circles, showing different oceans, mountains, islands, rivers, movements of the sun and the moon, gods, goddesses, Jinas, etc. On the four corners of the painting are depicted Jinas seated under the pavilions set in gardens. The figures of the female *chaurī*-bearers are very interesting and depict the transitional stage from Western Indian to Mughal school. The *chaurī*-bearers wear two types of costume, one consisting of the *cholī*, skirt, *paṭkā* and the *chādar* which covers a part of the head only, and the other consisting of the *pāijāmah*, *cholī*, *paṭkā* and *chādar*. The protrusion of the farther eye does not appear, and a certain lyrical quality

13. *Vividhatīrtha Kalpa*, p. 1.

14. *Ib.*, 1, p. 31.

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of drawing seen in the painting of Pārśvanātha, described above, is maintained. The ornaments on the persons of the *chaurī*-bearers are decorated with pompons, which were very fashionable in Mughal period, but do not appear in the 15th century Western Indian paintings. The colours used are white, red, yellow, indigo, green and crimson.

While a pleasing and classical phase of Western Indian art was being emphasised in the cloth-paintings described above, its folk variation was not altogether neglected. This spirit of folk art is clearly emphasised in the illustrated scroll of the *Vasanta Vilāsa*. It was written in Vikrama Samvat 1508 (1451 A.D.), at Ahmedābād, by Āchārya Ratnāgar for the instruction of Śhāh Śrī Chandrapāla. The copyist of the manuscript says that he copied it during the reign of Bādshāh Ahmad Shāh Qutb-ud-din, the ruler of Gujarāt. But as Ahmad Shāh was already dead in 1443, there seems to be some confusion about the date.[15] The manuscript is in the shape of a long scroll and measures 36.4″ by 9.2″ (including the margin). It has eighty-two verses written in separate panels on a white background in black and red ink. The writing, in golden ink, has suffered most. Blue ink has been used in two panels. There are seventy-nine pictures, which alternate with a verse in old Gujarātī. The largest picture is 5.7″ in length and 7.6″ in breadth, excluding the margins. The size of an average picture is 3.5″ × 7.7″.

Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva and Mr. N. C. Mehta have tried to prove that the painter and the writer of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* were not Jain, on the following grounds.[16] (1) The erotic sentiment pervading the poems show that the writer loved life and its joys, and that not even remote reference to Jainism has been made anywhere, and, therefore, the writer was probably a Hindu. (2) The Jain poets designated the poems on spring as *phaggu*. (3) Men and women wear Vaishṇavite *tilaks* on their foreheads. Mr. S. M. Nawab controverts the first point by citing instances of the *Dholā Mārawānī nī kathā*, *Śriṅgāramañjarī* of Jayavanta Sūri (Sam. 1614) and the *Kokachaupai* by Yati Narbudāchārya, which deal with subjects on love. Drawing our attention to the second point raised by Rao Bahadur Dhruva about the designation of *phaggu* to spring songs by Jain poets, Mr. Nawab is of the opinion that it was not necessary, as the poems deal mostly with the amorous dalliances of the hero and heroine in the spring, and that therefore, *Vasanta Vilāsa* is an appropriate designation. The title was perhaps suggested to the compiler by another contemporary composition named *Vasanta Vilāsa* by the poet Bālachandra. Replying to the objection that there is no reference to Jainism in the poems, S. M. Nawab retorts that there is neither any to Hinduism. Further, Mr. Nawab quotes Rao Bahadur Dhruva saying that the Bhandarkar Institute copy of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* is written in Jain Devanāgarī, and that several Gujāratī verses of

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15. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian painting*, pp. 15—28.

16. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, pp. 45-46.

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Fig. 79 to 82

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the *Vasanta Vilāsa* were traced in a Jain manuscript exhibited at a certain literary conference at Surat. These points Mr. Nawab also takes in favour of the author of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* as being Jain. Then Mr. Nawab also goes on to say that Bhādra Sudi Pañchamī, on which the present copy of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* was made, is a Jain auspicious day, and the writer was also no less than a Jain *āchārya*.

In our opinion, such controversies as to whether the author of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* was a Jain or a follower of Vedic religion are utterly futile, and smack of religious partisanship, which is deplorable. There is nothing to show that the Jain authors of the 13th and 14th centuries followed the strict tenets of early Jainism, which forbid any kind of sensuous pleasure. The mediæval Jain authors were in a sense the torch-bearers of Indian civilization in the dark middle ages, and, if they were to keep the torch burning, they could not afford to be squeamish about certain literary forms in which love and sensual pleasures play an important part, but which the literary taste of the age appreciated. The outstanding point about the *Vasanta Vilāsa* is not whether its author is a Jain or Vedic, but that it is the first dated document recovered which has, for its pictorial theme, a purely secular subject. It cannot be asserted that such class of painting did not exist, as we know of the illustrated *Ratirahasya* and some illustrated leaves from an Avadhī poem, preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, of practically the same time. It is, however, safe to say that such class of documents are extremely rare, and hence their importance.

The pictures in very few cases illustrate the verses, but may be regarded as the pictorial interpretation of the eternal theme of love and spring. This theme does not only confine itself to the tender moments of love, such as love quarrels and reconciliation and the enjoyment of nature by the lovers, but is often frankly sensual. One outstanding feature of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* is, however, the love of nature, hills, trees, flowers and birds. The technical shortcomings, however, stand in the way of coherent representation of the landscape which does not arouse æsthetic admiration. In keeping with the spirit of folk-art, however, the painter has discarded pure realism, and with the utmost economy of lines has tried to paint his trees, birds and animals, often pleasing in their doll-like effect. The art is of pure draughtsmanship in which colours play a secondary part. Though the illustrations deal with the inspiring themes of love, beauty and the spring, in most cases they sadly lack any lyrical quality which permeates later Rājpūt art. While it may be conceded that it is an art of symbols, its technical imperfections, which are many, cannot be excused. One would be sadly disappointed to seek elegance in the pictures, the drawings being rough and certainly not conducive to raise the imagination to lyrical heights. The features of the human figures are drawn after the tradition of the mediæval art and lack individuality; the farther eyes protrude into space. The expression of hand gives sometimes movement to figures. In the words of Mr. N. C. Mehta, " It is a bourgeois art with its emphasis on the ordinary joys of life, sometimes petty and gross even though they may be. Small gardens, flower

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swings, comfortable beds, gaudy hangings, and above all, the pleasures of the flesh—these are the pre-occupations of the art of the fifteenth century. There is nothing great or gorgeous, for it is the art inspired, or rather maintained by the wealthy bourgeoisie, which does not dream of the adventures of the palaces or soar to the heights of religious ecstasies or ascetic renunciation."[17] All said for and against the technical and æsthetic merits of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* illustrations, their true value lies not so much in the æsthetic field, but as a document which throws light on the parentage of Rājpūt art and also gives the visual representation of the contemporary manners and customs of the Indians in affluent circumstances.

The objection raised by Mr. N. C. Mehta about the U-shaped Vaishṇavite *tilaka* in the *Vasanta Vilāsa* is no cogent argument; as this *tilaka* also appears in the twelfth century Jaina painting, when Vaishṇavism does not seem to have been any potent force in Gujarāt. We shall show elsewhere that this *tilaka* is nothing but a simplification of the ancient *triratna* symbol of the Buddhists and the *tilaka-ratna* of the Jains, which was used as a religious and decorative symbol, and, therefore, does not connote any specific religious significance.

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17. N. C. Mehta, *Gujarati painting in the 15th Century*, p. 35.

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Fig. 84

Fig. 83

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CHAPTER VI

PAINTED WOODEN BOOK-COVERS

IN ancient India, wooden panels were used for painting, though, unfortunately, no such example has survived the ravages of time. In the middle ages, however, painted wooden covers were used for palm-leaf manuscripts, several of which have survived and are stowed away carefully in the Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍārs of Gujarāt and Rājputānā. The oldest of such painted wooden book-cover was discovered by Śrī Muni Jinavijayajī in the famous Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Jaisalmer. The cover measures 26 or 27 inches in length and 3 inches in breadth.[1] The painting is done in unwashable colours, though, unfortunately, some details are worn out from one corner of this wooden book-cover. In the centre of the cover is represented the inside of a Jain temple with a Jain image in the central square and an attendant on each side. In the compartment on the right are two worshippers standing with folded hands, two drummers furiously playing, and two female dancers contorting their bodies in various attitudes; at the top is a *kinnarī* flying in the sky. In the left compartment may be seen three worshippers standing with folded hands, and a *kinnara* flying in the sky at the top (Figs. 190—192). On the left and right of this central scene, separated by compartments containing rosettes framed on both sides by decorative floral bands, are represented the scenes of the Discussion Hall (*Vyākhyāna Sabhā*) of Śrī Jinadatta Sūri. On the left side may be seen Āchārya Jinadatta, clad in white, seated on a high-backed seat. His identity is revealed by a Sanskrit inscription in front of his face. Before him is seated a Jain monk whom a Sanskrit inscription at his head calls Paṇdita Jinarakshita; two laymen are seated on the cushions laid on the floor hearing to the discourse of the Āchārya. Behind Jinadatta are seen a layman and two women, perhaps his wives, seated on the floor holding some round objects, may be fruits, in their hands. In front of the Muni is kept a *sthāpanāchārya* inscribed with the word Mahāvīra. In the Discussion Hall seen on the right the Āchārya is seen seated in the same pose discussing with Śrī Guṇachandrāchārya. Behind him are seated a Jain monk and a layman. At the back of Āchārya Jinadatta are seated two laymen. The *sthāpānachārya*, placed in between the *munis*, is inscribed with the name of Mahāvīra. The borders of the panel are decorated with the leaf design known as *mārwāṛī*.

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1. *Bharatīya Vidyā* (Samsodhanātmaka Hindī Gujarātī Vividhanibandha Samgraha),, Vol. III, V. S. 2000-2001, pp. 233—235, Pls. a, ā.

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From the contents of the painted wooden book-cover, Muni Jinavijayajī has come to the conclusion that the cover perhaps belonged to some personal palm-leaf manuscript of Āchārya Jinadatta, presented to him by some rich disciple. It is possible that men and women represented on the cover were the members of the family of the layman who presented the manuscript. However, to what particular book this cover belonged, there are no means to determine.

Śrī Jinadatta Sūri, who is represented on the panel, is a well known teacher of the Jain Śvetāmbara community. He was born in Vikarama Samvat 1132 (1075 A.D.), was initiated as a Śvetāmbara monk in Samvat 1141 (1084 A.D.), and rose to become an Āchārya at Chitrakūṭa (modern Chittor) in V. S. 1169 (1112 A.D.). He died at Ajmer in V.S. 1211 (1154 A.D.), in the reign of Chāhmāna Viśaladeva. During his lifetime, he made constant tours of Gujarāt, Mārwār, Mewār, Bāgāda and Sindh. At Vikrampur, in Mārwār, he consecrated an image of Mahāvīra in the temple built by the banker Devabhadra. Śrī Jinavijayajī is of the opinion[2] that the scene of the Jina temple represented in the panel mentioned above, probably represents the consecration ceremony of the above temple, because, in the temple depicted in the panel, the image is that of Mahāvīra, and on the *sthāpanāchārya*, in front of the Sūri, is also inscribed the name of Mahāvīra. It is possible that Devabhadra, at this occasion, presented the Sūri with some manuscript, of which this panel formed as a cover, and, to commemorate the occasion, it was painted with the scene of the consecration in which the Sūri played an important part.

Śrī Jinadatta Sūri, as various dates in his life indicate, was a contemporary of Siddharāja Jayasimha and Kumārapāla, and, as the panel was painted when he had risen to be an Āchārya, its date should fall between 1112 A.D., the year in which he became an Āchārya, and 1154 A.D., the year in which he died.

Technically this painted wooden cover is of great interest, as it is the earliest of its kind and its painting forms a connecting link, as it were, between the later paintings at Ellura and the full fledged Western Indian school. The painting is done on plain background and there is little attempt made to distinguish the planes, though in the dancing group in the cover (Fig. 190), the figures are considerably shorter than those of the worshippers. This may be due either to the convention showing the distance between the sanctum and the dancers, or may be simply due to the crowding in of four dancers and musicians within a very restricted space. We have shown elsewhere that, in the early Jain palm-leaf miniatures, the poses of the figures are restricted, but, from this panel, it is evident that the artists were quite capable of depicting intricate dance poses. Such outstanding features of Western Indian painting, as angularity of drawing and the protrusion of the farther eye into space, are present, though it must be admitted that these features in no way detract from the æsthetic merit of the painting. The drawing

2. *Bharatīya Vidyā* p. 34.

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is flowing, and it is interesting to note that the harshness of angles are controlled by sweeping curves. The nose is angular at the tip but the rest of it is well moulded and conforms to the parrot-beak conception of the nose in Indian literature. The chin is well curved. The figure of Mahāvīra lacks the stiffness of similar figures of later times and closely conforms to the contemporary stone images from Gujarāt and Rājputānā. As a matter of fact, the whole composition shows the indebtedness of the artist to the contemporary sculptor. The figure of a woman is remarkably drawn[4] (Fig. 191), and is quite out of tune with the general trend of Western Indian school. Her beautiful ovaloid face, large eyes, well arched eyebrow, thick lips and well rounded breasts are more in the line of Ajaṇṭā, Ellura and Pāla paintings from Bengal. The figure well illustrates the period of transformation from the old to new conception. As a contrast, the figure of the second woman with angular nose and rather pointed chin is more in line with Western Indian tradition. The so-called U-shaped *tilaka* also appears on the forehead of laymen.

Muni Jinavijayajī discovered another painted wooden book-cover from the Jñāna Bhaṇḍār of Jaisalmer[5] (Figs. 193 -198), which is painted on both sides and measures 30″ in length and 3″ in breadth. The border on one side is decorated with the figures of geese.

The subject-matter of this painted panel is a well-known historical incident in the Śvetāmbara Jain community. Vādī Devasūri, a great logician, was a contemporary of Siddharāja and a great friend of Hemachandra. He is the author of the *Pramāṇanayatattvālamkāra*, which is a scholarly treatise on Jain logic. In the year 1124 A.D., in the court of Siddharāja Jayasimha, under the presidentship of the learned king, a religious discussion between him and the great Digambara scholar Kumuda-Chandra took place in which Devasūri was victorious. A detailed description of this discussion is given in the *Prabhāvakacharita*, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, etc., which deal with the life and works of Devasūri. This incident also forms the plot of a drama named *Mudrita Kumuda-chandra* by the poet Yaśaśchandra, who draws a very realistic picture of the incident. It is interesting to note that the paintings on the wooden cover follow the drama in the representation of the incident. Unfortunately, only one wooden cover was discovered which depicts the first part of the incident. It is possible that this wooden cover once formed the part of some outstanding work of Devasūri, probably a copy of the *Syādvādratnākara*, prepared for his own Jñāna Bhaṇḍār. According to Jinavijayajī, it is quite possible that this painted wooden cover was prepared within five or six years of the great discussion, when the incidents were still fresh in memory. If this surmise be correct, then the date of the painted cover should fall near about 1130 A.D.[6]

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4. *Bharatīya Vidyā* Pl. *ā*.
5. *Ib.* Pls. *ii*, pp. 235—240.
6. *Ib.*, p. 236. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab with whom I had a discussion about the date of this painting, however, is of the opinion that this painted wooden cover was probably copied from the original in the 15th century. He bases his argument on the

(*Continued on p. 60*)

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On the obverse of the wooden cover, beginning from the left, there is the temple of Śrī Neminātha at Āśāpalli, followed by a bell-tower (*ghaṭikāgṛha*). Then comes the preaching hall of Devasūri (Fig. 193). The Āchārya is seated on a high-backed stool, behind which stands a boy disciple fanning with a piece of cloth. In front of Devasuri lies the *sthāpanāchārya*. He is apparently explaining some intricate point to his disciple Paṇḍit Māṇikya. There are four laymen seated on the floor, hearing to the discourse. These laymen, as the Sanskrit inscription at the top says, are Rāhaḍa and other Digambaras who had apparently assembled to acquaint themselves with the trend of the discussion and report it to their *guru* Kumuda-chandra. They all wear short jackets and shorts, their hair is tied behind in buns ; they wear beards and their foreheads are decorated with the U-shaped *tilakas*. In the next compartment Kumuda-chandra is seated on a high-backed stool with a boy disciple holding the peacock-tail whisk (*mayūrapichchhī*) standing behind. The Āchārya, apparently in a very excited mood, is conversing with a naked disciple seated in front of him. There are two men seated on the floor, apparently explaining to the Āchārya the message of Devasūri (Fig. 194). In the next compartment is shown Devasūri with a disciple standing at his back and another seated in front. Two laymen are seated on the floor and the third, as the inscription at the top says, is a messenger from Kumuda-chandra challenging Devasūri for discussion. In the next compartment is shown Kumuda-chandra with a layman seated on the floor (Fig. 195). On the right is shown an old nun dancing, who is being roughly handled by a follower of Kumuda-chandra for her act of sacrilege. In the next compartment, the old weeping nun is shown complaining to Devasūri about the treatment meted out to her by a follower of his adversary, Kumuda-chandra. In the next compartment, Kumuda-chandra is hearing to the message brought by his messenger from Devasūri. In the last compartment is a market scene. At the top a woman is selling ghee to a merchant who is measuring and pouring it in a pot. In the lower part is shown a florist carrying out his trade. Before him lies a huge basket of flowers.

On the left side on the reverse (Figs. 196–197), is the representation of that part of the story when the disputant Āchāryas had decided to hold a discussion in the court

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Continuation of the Note from page 59.

developed technique of the drawing which is of the 15th century and the excellent state of preservation of the cover, which would certainly have been greatly rubbed had it been nearly eight hundred years old. I shall have the occasion to discuss the differences in execution of the covers depicting Jinadatta and Kumuda-chandra and Devasūri as they are more or less contemporary. But such differences may only be due to the vagaries of the transitional period. As for its good state of preservation it may be purely accidental. It is remarkable that jackets worn by men in this cover do not appear in paintings after the 13th century and if fashions in costume be the indication of age then the 12th century date proposed for this cover is not wrong.

7. *Bharatīya Vidya.*, Pl. i.

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Fig. 85

Fig. 86

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of Siddharāja and accept his final verdict. In keeping with the spirit of the decision, both the Āchāryas started with their followers from Aśāpallī to Pāṭan. On the left is depicted the march of Devasūri, for whose successful ending the Śvetāmbara laymen had arranged good omens. On the extreme end is shown Devasūri, accompanied by two disciples, coming out of the hospice. He is preceded by three laymen. The Āchārya sees a chariot procession of a Jina image coming from the right. The chariot is dragged by laymen, and behind it follow the processionists carrying umbrellas and unfurling flags. In front of the chariot are the pipers and drummers and a dancing girl performing a lovely dance pose (Fig. 196). The action of the drummers, who are also dancing, is very artistically represented. Hilarious joy and action pervade the entire scene. The descriptive label in Sanskrit reads, '*Śrī Devasūrayaḥ paṭṭānapratipra-chalitārathaśakunamabhinandayati*', 'Sri Devasūri starting from the town hails the good omen of the chariot procession.'

The right half of the panel on the reverse depicts the march of Kumuda-chandra and party (Figs. 197–198), and the painter has quite successfully depicted the gloom covering the entire scene. There are a few warriors and musicians accompanying, but they seem to be without any enthusiasm, treading their way cautiously. Beginning from the extreme left is a palanquin carrying Kumuda-chandra, accompanied by a number of parasol-bearers and preceded by two warriors equipped with swords and shields, and a trumpeter. In the way is shown the Sābarmatī river, on whose opposite bank may be seen a banyan tree with a platform encompassing its root; a cobra is shown passing nearby. This ill-omen greatly perturbed Kumuda-chandra, and its immediate results are shown on the extreme right. Here Kumuda-chandra, after reaching Pāṭan, is making an attempt to meet the Queen Mother but is stopped from doing so by the gatekeeper, who, in the first panel, is shown pushing him aside unceremoniously. In the second panel is shown the palace with the Queen Mother conversing with a companion. This desire of Kumuda-chandra to see the Queen Mother may be attributed to the fact that Mayaṇallādevī, the mother of Siddharāja, was a princess from the south and her father's side had partiality for the Digambaras. Kumuda-chandra also hailed from the south, and, therefore, the Queen Mother had great regard for him as a compatriot. It seems that Kumuda-chandra went to visit the Queen Mother privately to concoct some scheme with her, in order to ensure his victory in his coming discussion with Devasūri.[8]

The wooden panel described above is of a very great interest, for we find in this panel, for the first time, all the distinguishing features of Western Indian school. It is an art of draughtsmanship, and the straight line and angles are preferred. The pointed nose and chin are very prominent, and the distended chest, which is very much exaggerated in later paintings of Western Indian school, appears. The drawing of the hands

8. *Bharatīya Vidya* p. 240.

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is, however, expressive. It is also interesting to note that the protuberance of the farther eyes has not yet reached that conventionalised stage when they do not form part of the face, but seem quite detached. Here, in the three-quarter profile, part of farther cheeks, having eyes with a slight tendency to protrude into space, is noticeable. It is, however, in the delineation of the dancing figures that the painter has achieved great success. The female dancer, with her well proportioned limbs, curved breasts, and narrow hips, reminds the influence of the contemporary sculpture on painting. The rhythmical swaying of the body in dance has been well rendered in the pulsating curves of the dancing figure. Caught in the whirlpool of rhythm, the drummers are also dancing, and the graceful movements of their hands, expressive of rhythm, are well rendered. Considering from every point, this example of Western Indian painting, in its formative period, possesses a vigour of the primitive, and its æsthetic interest lies in the graceful adaptation of the line to the subject it depicts. In this painting, the art of draughtsmanship rises to much higher level than in the later mediocre Jain paintings. Here, the lines have a definite purpose to serve and they never swerve from the correct definition.

After discussing the two contemporary painted wooden covers in detail, it will be interesting to point out certain differences such as the preferences for curves in one and angles in the other. The painted cover depicting Jinadatta has a preference for curves, while the painted cover depicting scenes from the historical discussion between Devasūri and Kumuda-chandra prefers angles and straight lines. In the former, there are greater vestiges of the art of Ajaṇṭā and Ellura, while in the latter, we see Western Indian in its full-fledged state. All these differences are self-explanatory if we bear in mind that the period, to which these two paintings belong, is that of the transition, when the painters had not yet absolutely discarded the ancient tradition, though the new Western Indian art had undergone great changes and had formulated its own set of conventions, which the later painters followed unquestioningly.

An important painted wooden cover in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab probably belongs to the middle of the 12th century. It measures about 30″ in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$″ in width. The subject-matter of the painting is a battle between two brothers, Bharata Chakravartī and his younger brother Bāhubali (Fig. 199—203). The story goes that once there was a war between Bharata and Bāhubali which lasted for twelve years. Such was the slaughter of the soldiers on both sides that Śakra advised both brothers to force a decision by a personal duel. Four forms of duel, namely, duel by stern glances (*dṛshṭiyuddha*), duel by discussion (*vāgyuddha*), duel by boxing, and duel with stick (*daṇḍayuddha*), were suggested. In all these four forms of duel, the valiant Bāhubali was victorious. At this defeat Bharata lost the presence of his mind, and in great anger attacked Bāhubali with a discus, with, however, no result. Bāhubali, at this wanton attack, thought that fraternal love was of no consequence in that war, and rushed towards Bharata ready to strike him with his fist which would have surely killed him.

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But half way, the thought flashed into his mind that fratricide was the greatest crime, and as the bound fist could not recoil without attaining its purpose, he, after plucking his hair, became a Jain monk.

On the obverse of the panel, on the right end, is shown the battle between Bharata and Bāhubali (Fig. 199). Both the brothers are mounted on chariots shooting arrows. Full details of the chariot and a mediæval warrior's equipments are shown. The animals yoked to the chariots are not horses but composite animals with the body of a horse and the head of an elephant. In the centre of the field may be seen two warriors, and two other figures, apparently not soldiers. By their gestures it is apparent that they are asking the brothers to stop the fight. Apparently, the figures represent Śakra, according to the story. The descriptive labels show that on the extreme left is Bāhubali and opposite to him, Bharata.

The next scene, on the left, depicts six laymen, three men and three women (Fig. 200) They are hearing to the sermon of Ṛshabha, the first Tīrthamkara and the father of Bharata and Bāhubali. In the panel, in the centre, is represented Bāhubali practising penance attended by his two sisters, Brāhmī and Sundarī, who had also joined the monastic order.

The most interesting part of the panel is the decoration on the reverse in the double meander, with the interspaces between the loops filled with decorative patterns (Figs. 201—203). Beginning from the left, in the first loop facing downward compartment, is an elephant, in the second loop facing upward there is a pair of geese, in the third downward loop the details are chipped off, then are represented two Chinese dragons with a common face, their tails serving as the springing point of the meander, the details of the fourth loop downward are lost, in the fifth upward loop there is a pair of geese, in the sixth downward loop there is a lion, and in the seventh upward loop a pair of geese. Lotus flowers are shown springing from the body of the meander wherever looped compartments appear, the rest of the intervening spaces are filled with the arabesque. The perfect balance in the design and the lively representation of birds and beasts remind us of the similar decorative patterns at Ajaṇṭā, and are certainly not commonly met with in the mediæval Western Indian painting. This pattern once again proves the vestiges of the ancient Indian art in the painting of the 12th century.

The back ground of the painting is red and the colour scheme is extremely simple consisting of red, pink, indigo blue, yellow and black. The linear conception of Western Indian school is quite apparent and the nose and chin are pointed. The farther eyes as yet do not protrude very prominently into space. They are not represented as fully open, only three-quarters or half of the pupils being shown ; this is apparently an attempt to indicate the eyelids which, in the absence of shading, are not represented. Attempt has been made at modelling by colour washes or thick lines. The painter did not allow the lines to run adrift, and this has added a definite quality to them. In the battle-scene of Bharata and Bāhubali, the painter has been successful in depicting

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the spirit of action. The stern battle poses of the warriors and the flying arrows add to the grimness of the scene.

The next dated examples are the scenes from the former lives of Pārśvanātha, painted on the wooden covers of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Dharmopadeśamālā*, by Maladhārī Hemachandra Sūri, belonging to Mr. S. M. Nawab (Figs. 204). The covers measure $35\frac{1}{4}''$ by $3\frac{1}{6}''$, with variation, and are dated in V. S. 1425 (1368 A.D.), as is also the manuscript.[9] Certain outstanding characteristics of these painted covers may be marked. The drawing is careful and the protrusion of the farther eyes is not yet so pronounced. The architectural and ornamental details strive towards realism. There are definite attempts at shading in the treatment of the bodies of the king and queen. Prof. W. Norman Brown [10] assigns these covers to variety A. 2 of the palm-leaf period.

In these covers, the artist first laid a white base, then made his drawing and applied his colours. The colours are red background, with all figures in yellow, except Pārśva, who had his traditional colour of green. Green is also used for trees, in the women's bodices, and elsewhere in clothes. The paintings contain some black. On the reverse, that is the outside of the covers, are flower designs on red back-ground with yellow flowers and leaves, except that the leaves are often overlaid with dark green[11].

The next dated example is a wooden cover illustrating scenes from the life of Mahāvīra. It forms a cover for a manuscript of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-vṛtti* in the collection of Muni Puṇyavijayaji (Figs. 205-208). The cover measures $34\frac{1}{2}''$ by $3''$ with variations, and is not dated. But the manuscript which it covers is dated in V. S. 1456 (1399 A.D.), and the cover is quite possibly of the same date.

The obverse of the cover is very much flaked. From the details available, one panel depicts Mahāvīra in the *bhava* of Viśvabhūti, uplifting a cow to the sky (Fig. 205). On the reverse, the following incidents from the life of Mahāvīra are illustrated (Figs. 206–208). (1) Beginning from the right, king Siddhāratha, seated under a pavilion, is shown conversing with queen Triśalā. (2) Outside the pavilion is seen an astrologer interpreting the dreams of the queen. (3) It represents the birth of Mahāvīra. The mother is shown lying on a cot under a pavilion, fondling the child. (4) Outside the pavilion is shown Harinaigamesa carrying the foetus of Devānandā for transferring it to the womb of Triśalā. He is attended by several servants (Fig. 206). (5) Indra is performing the lustration rite of Mahāvīra (Fig. 207) ; he is represented seated in the middle with the child ; two Devas are pouring water. (6) Siddhārtha and Triśalā are shown conversing. (7) the marriage of Mahāvīra ; the marriage pavilion has for its post piled up jars ; it is also decorated with the plantain trees ; in the centre are shown

9. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, pp. 48-49.
10. *J.I.S.O.A.*, V, p. 5, Fig. 5.
11. *Ib.*, p. 5, fn. 4.

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Fig. 88

Fig. 87

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Mahāvīra and his bride ; there are also Brahmins participating in the ceremony. (8) It depicts Varshīdāna, *i.e.*, the distribution of daily alms by Mahāvīra for one year before he was initiated (Fig. 208) ; he is shown seated under a tree offering alms to a Brahmin. (9) Mahāvīra being carried on the palanquin Chandra-sibikā for the initiation ceremony. The palanquin is being carried by two men. (10) Mahāvīra plucking his hair which Indra stands nearby to receive. (11) It represents Mahāvīra offering half of his garment to a Brahmin named Soma ; the story goes that the Brahmin, as he had gone out, when Mahāvīra was distributing alms, and, therefore, could receive nothing, approached him when he was renouncing the world, and, as he had nothing else to give, he parted with half of his garment. (12) Mahāvīra practising penance in the *kāyotsarga* pose (Fig. 208).

Speaking from the artistic point of view, we find angularity in drawing an outstanding feature. There is little attempt to grapple with the ornamental details, and the architecture has been very much simplified. As a matter of fact, we find in this cover the consolidation of those conventions which became regular features of Western Indian painting in the paper period.

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PART II

CHAPTER I

CARRIERS AND OTHER IMPLEMENTS

BEFORE beginning the review of the technical processes involved in Western Indian painting, it may be worth while to consider what we should have to contemplate, if we were to attempt a survey of the technique involved in medieval art. To investigate works in metal, such as pots and pans and immense number of bronzes, Jain, Buddhist and Hindu, we will have to revert to the operations of metallurgy, the extraction of metals from their ores, refining, parting, alloying and their conversion into works of art by the various processes of casting, die-stamping, carving, turning, beating, gilding, painting, etc. The lapidary's art cannot be ignored when we want to study exquisite medieval ornaments, set with precious, semi-precious or artificial stones. We are prone to ask how they were cut, polished, carved, engraved, coloured, backed and mounted. We shall have to look up the actual examples of woodcarving to know how they were carved, gilded or lacquered. If we want to study the medieval textile pieces from Gujarāt, early samples of which have been recovered from the sands of Fustāt in Egypt, we shall have to devote a chapter to the technique of weaving and spinning, dyeing, cleaning, bleaching, blocking, printing and painting. And, above all, along with the study of materials and the instruments of medieval craftsmanship, we should be constrained to reflect upon the manner in which they were employed, "for technique means action, materials and tools in action, and the essence of technical study is the recognition of those systematic methods which combine taste and knowledge and competence, born of profession and individual experience."[1]

In medieval Indian art, an impulse towards embellishment, which is symptomatic of great luxury, resulted in building up a tremendous range of technical powers for executing that ornamentation. This tendency of medieval Indian craftsmanship, specially in the sphere of architecture, results in the elaboration of ornaments. In the art of painting, however, when new artistic impulses created fresh forms, the tendency is towards simplification of lines and colours. This may be due to the limited surface of the palm-leaf and paper; but this is not always true as some really first class

1. D. V. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting*, p. 19, London, 1936.

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Fig. 89

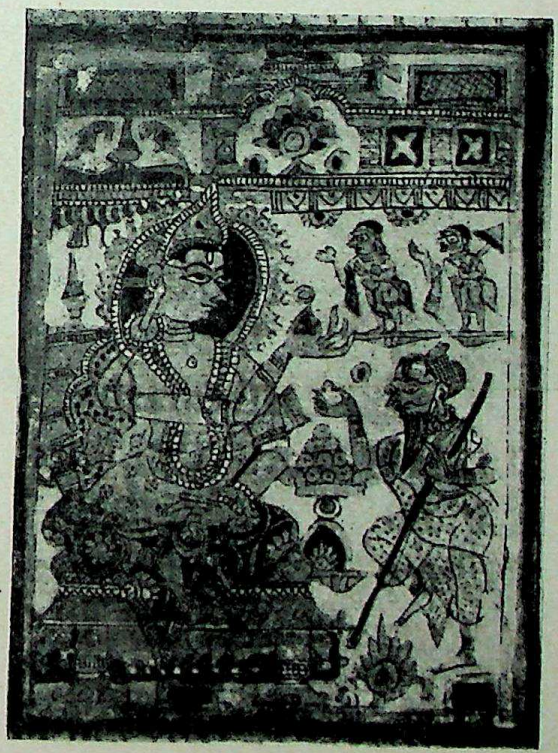

Fig. 90

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Fig. 91 to 92

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manuscripts of the 15th century are beautifully illuminated. There is, however, a strenuous effort directed to improve the colour tones and effect the economy of line, which is again important, considering the limited surfaces on which the medieval artists could paint.

A number of medieval texts in Sanskrit, such as the *Silparatna* and the section on painting in the *Mānasollāsa*, show this tendency of elaboration. It may be admitted that the medieval Indian painting has lost much of the verve and technical perfection of Ajaṇṭā, but this was not due so much to the technical deficiencies of the artists as to the conventional subjects which their patrons asked them to paint and which left little scope for originality, as the figures of the gods and goddesses and the Jinas were hide-bound by the strict iconographic conventions, any transgression of which meant the greatest sacrilege and calamity. It cannot be denied, however, that the passion and aspiration of the artists to do everything that was possible in their line to do and even to excel in things which others could not do, were responsible for many stylistic and technical developments, which led to the formulation of those trade-secrets which the artists guarded zealously. It is due to the secretive nature of the informants that the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting are unable to explain all technical points.

The technique in medieval Indian painting may be studied from the few remnants of wall-paintings, book illustrations, cloth paintings, and painted wooden book-covers, on the one hand, and from the Sanskrit documents on medieval painting, on the other. As observed by Dr. Thompson, "Technique in the kinetic sense must be studied from the actual works of those who practised it. The static elements of technique, the materials in which technique are exercised, can be described, and often were described by the medieval authors; and there is some interest perhaps some value derived from the knowledge of these materials which the eyes alone cannot give. Technique means the synthesis of many sorts of element, physical and otherwise, and the raw materials of painting are no more than dross; but they are necessary dross, and not without influence upon the other factors in the art. It needs our best observation, and as many sorts of knowledge as we can bring to it to appreciate 'the flowering of genius, the intellect's control, and the power of reason, in the smallest work as well as in the great things' of medieval painting".

While studying the materials of Western Indian painting, there are certain difficulties which must be made clear. The documents have been published and described by competent authorities, mostly from the historical and æsthetic points of view their technical aspects have been touched only superficially. By this observation I do not mean to cast any aspersion on the great pioneers whose efforts in most cases were circumscribed by the difficulty of access to the documents in the original. This is especially true in the case of Jain palm-leaf illustrated manuscripts housed in the great Jain Bhaṇḍārs, brought to our notice for the first time by Dr. W. Norman Brown and Mr. Sarabhai Nawab. The difficulty in procuring illustrated paper manuscripts

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is not so great, as many public and private collections in India, Europe and America possess them and many studies of such class of manuscripts have appeared from time to time. A word of caution is, however, necessary with regard to this class of manuscripts. As is well known, the manuscripts generally owned by the museums and private collections are stereotyped versions produced in great numbers for the satisfaction of the religious instincts of the Jains. To expect the fineness of execution from such class of manuscripts is rather too much, as they are the works of mediocre artists. A parallel to this may be found in Mughal painting. As is well known, Akbar ordered the preparation of the illustrated manuscript of the *Mahābhārata* for his personal library, and at the same time asked his noblemen to take copies of the illustrated *Razm-Namah*, as the *Mahābhārata* was known in Persian translation[2], made by ordinary painters. Stray leaves of such versions have come down to us, the original being in the Palace Library of Jaipur. A comparison of these leaves with their original proves the technical differences in their execution. Similar is the case with the illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* introduced to us for the first time by Mr. Sarabhai Nawab, in which the artists have such grasp of decorative elements that all our preconceived notion of Western Indian painting are shattered. These manuscripts were apparently prepared by highly accomplished artists for their patrons. Surely, while giving our verdict on the technical achievements of Western Indian painting, such documents must be consulted.

For the study of the technical side of the medieval European painting with special reference to grounds and carriers, colours, binding media, etc., modern scientific analysis and observations have been of great help. In India this scientific study of the technique of miniature painting has not yet commenced, and, therefore, we have to satisfy ourselves with personal examination of the miniatures and collate our observations with the information given in the medieval texts on painting. In the following pages, I have tried to sum up various technical aspects of Western Indian painting, basing my results on my personal observations and the researches of my predecessors.

CARRIERS AND GROUNDS

The word 'ground' is a little ambiguous. For instance, if a picture is painted on brick-wall covered with plaster, then either the brick or the plaster may be called the ground: But by common consent now, the plaster, in this case, is usually called the ground and the brick-wall the carrier. In a painting, say on palm-leaf, the palm-leaf becomes the ground and the priming on which the painting is done, becomes the carrier. The distinction between the ground and carrier was at times lost, most obviously so in writing or drawing directly on palm-leaf or paper.

2. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhāb-ut Tawārīkh*, tr., Vol. II, p. 331.

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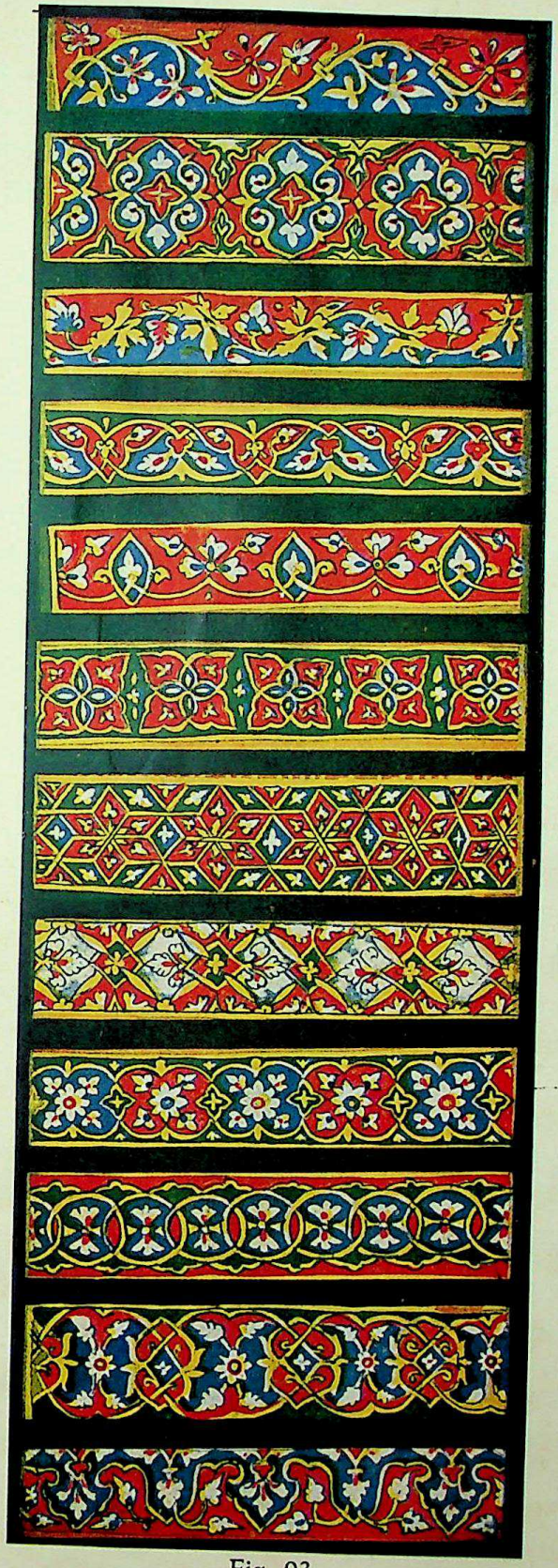

Fig. 93

Fig. 94

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PALM-LEAF

Before the advent of paper, which was probably introduced in India, at the earliest, in the 12th century, palm-leaf, coarse cloth and wooden panels served as writing and painting materials. But once paper was introduced, it gradually ousted palm-leaf. The increasing cost,[3] difficulties of transportation from the South and Burma, the troublesome methods of writing on palm-leaf, and the political turmoil resulting from the internecine warfare between the Rājpūt states, on the one hand, and the Muslim invaders on the other, all combined to make the use of palm-leaf almost prohibitive. Yet again, paper, which probably came from Central Asia and Persia, was more easily available, and the burnished paper served as an excellent writing material. This easy availability of paper appealed greatly to the Jain writers and painters, though palm-leaf, which had served as writing material for centuries past, continued to be used on a much lesser scale for some time, till paper finally replaced it altogether. The art of writing on palm-leaf has been forgotten to such an extent that we are unable to say by what methods the writers made ink stay on the smooth palm-leaf surface, and we are unable to confirm which inkmaking formula from the several available is the simplest and best.

The palmyra tree, which yielded palm-leaves for writing and painting, is known *tāla* in Sanskrit, its Hindi and Gujarāti equivalent being *tāḍ*. This palmyra is of two species *śrī-tāḍ* and *khar-tāḍ*, the latter grows in Gujarāt and elsewhere and its fronds are thick, liable to break at the slightest pressure, and its fibres have the tendency to rot and weaken in the course of time. Palm-leaves from this variety are not used for writing or allied purposes. *Śrī-tāḍ*, the second variety, grows abundantly in Madras, Ceylon, Burma, Bengal and elsewhere. Its fronds are smooth and delicate, measuring at times more than 37″ × 3″, which is their usual size. Its fibres do not decay easily and its elasticity prevents it breaking even under undue pressure. The fronds of this palmyra yielded palm-leaves for writing.

It has been found from experience that the palm-leaves as they grow old develop a tendency to affect adversely cloth or paper coming in their contact. Muni Puṇya-vijayajī[4] has observed that in the palm-leaf manuscripts certain paper leaves replacing the lost or decayed palm-leaves, in course of time, appear even in worse condition than the original leaves of the manuscripts. This may be due, as explained by Muni Puṇyavijaya, to certain acid property of the ink which weakens the texture of the paper. From his personal observations also, he has found that the cloth wrappers of the palm-leaf manuscripts develop a tendency to turn black within a few years. Now, here is a point for museum chemists to determine the chemical properties of the various kinds of inks employed in writing on palm-leaves and find out

3. There is a palm-leaf in the Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Pāṭan datable to 14th century which gives the purchase price of palm-leaf. It works out at six annas per leaf. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 25, fn. 31.
4. *Ib.*, p. 29.

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the actual cause of the deterioration of paper and cloth coming in contact with those inks.

CLOTH

It is a well-known fact that cloth was used very extensively in ancient India for painting. Even entire books were at times written on cloth. Thus a Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, located in Vakhatjīnīserī at Pāṭan, possesses a cloth manuscript containing the *Dharmavidhiprakaraṇa Vṛttisahita, Kachchhūlirāsā* and eight chapters of the *Tṛishashṭīśalākāpurusha-charita.*[5] Its date is made out as Samvat 1408 or 1410 (A.D.1351 or 1353) and its leaves simulate palm-leaves. There are, however, a number of *Samavasaraṇa* scenes, cosmographical charts, charts dealing with such subjects as mythical two and half islands, Jambūdvīpa, Navadvīpa, *Hṛmkāra, Ghaṇṭākarṇa,* various *mantras* and *tantras,* canonical subjects as the *Saṃgrahaṇīsūtra, Kshetra-samāsa, Prāyaschitta,* the six *sthānas* of the *Samyamasreṇi,* sixty-two *mārgaṇās, Pañchatīrthi,* etc., painted on cloth and dating from the 14th to 16th century.

Scrolls of cloth were generally prepared for the purpose of painting. To obtain a paper scroll, the paper pieces of required sizes were pasted in length, but cloth pieces were generally of great length, and, therefore, a cloth scroll did not require cutting and joining. It was folded breadthwise in two or more folds as required, and the long strips obtained by cutting served the purpose of scrolls. These scrolls served the purpose of illustrating the *Pāñchatīrthīs,* for writing documents and the religious orders of the Jain teachers during the rainy season, horoscopes, etc. They were occasionally used for writing and illustrating large poems, such as the *Vasanta Vilāsa.*

Surface preparation.—Before the painting was started on cloth, a priming of the paste made from the wheat or rice flour was applied to fill up the pores of the cloth. After the priming had dried, the cloth was thoroughly burnished with an agate burnisher[6]. This was the regular method of preparing surface in Western Indian paintings on cloth. In the cloth-paintings from Bengal and Orissa, however, a different method was followed. Here, the cloth, which was usually of an even surface, was coated with a thin layer of plastic clay which had been carefully pounded and usually mixed with cow-dung beaten to thin paste. When dry, the surface was rubbed till it became smooth, and it was then ready for painting.[7]

PAPER

The invention of paper in 105 A.D., by one Tsai-Lun in China, was of far-reaching consequences, as it foretold the dawn of the new age in which paper plays such an important part. But in India four hundred years earlier, in B.C., 327 according to the observations of Nearchus the Cretan, a friend and follower of Alexander the Great, a kind of

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5. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma.*, p. 26. 6. *Ib.*, p. 31. 7. *Ind. Arts and Lts.*, Issue XI, 1926, p. 43.

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Fig. 95

Fig. 96

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thin glazed sheets, made by felting cotton-wool, were used for the purpose of writing. We may place reliance in the authority of Nearchus, as unlike other historians of the time he never indulged in mythical stories. He was an honest reporter and took pains to verify the stories before he reported them. In the absence of any direct proof, however, it is difficult to say whether the writing material found in Panjāb was true paper.

Sometime back, it was regarded as an established fact that the Arabs in the 8th century used cotton-wool and raw cotton for making paper. This belief led J. H. Royle, the author of *The Fibrous Plants of India*, to say that the art of paper-making from cotton-wool was learned by the Arabs from the Hindus. Researches in this field by the German scientists, who examined Archduke Rainer's collection of ancient Arabic manuscripts in 1874, have proved that the Arab paper was made of linen and that the Arabs had no knowledge of making paper entirely of cotton.[8] If this is correct, then the theory of the Indian origin of paper-making in Arabia is negatived. Moreover, it is an undisputed fact that the Arabs learned the art of paper-making, after the battle of Kangli in 751 A.D., in Western Turkestan, from a Chinese workman. The first paper-making factory was opened at Samarqand and another was started at Baghdad, in 794 A.D., in the reign of Hārūn-al-Rashīd. Samarqand produced several sorts of paper by the 10th century, the most expensive being a variety of thick paper covered with gold dust, which was extensively used till 1500.[9]

Papyrus and parchment, which had served hitherto as materials for writing, were substituted by paper. In the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, the craft of paper-making had spread all over the Muslim world. Paper was introduced in Europe after the Moorish conquest of Spain and the Arab occupation of Sicily. It is also an undisputed point that some parts of India, especially Western India, obtained the knowledge of paper-making through Arabs. According to William Raitt, Zain al-Ābedīn (1420—1470), a ruler of Kashmir, imported paper-workers from Samarqand, whose technique is still followed by the paper-makers of Kashmir.

In connection with the introduction of paper in India, it is interesting to note a reference in the *Fan yu tsa ming*, a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon of the 8th century. Here, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese *tche*, meaning paper, is *Kakari*, a word unknown to Sanskrit literature in India, though *kāgar*, in the sense of feathers, is used in certain dialects of Hindi. The word recurs in Yi-tsing's *Fan yu tsien tseu wen* (No. 233) under the form *kākali*. These words could be compared with the Persian *kaghad*, ancient Uigür *kāgdā*, and Mongol *Qaghudasum*. As is already known, paper-manufacture was started in China. It is also a fact that in the Sasanide Iran, paper was regarded as a precious commodity and was employed in writing royal mandates. It is, however, interesting to note that, though paper was introduced in India, in the

8. *Indian Print and Paper*, March 1936, p. 25. 9. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 23, London, 1930.

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12th century[10], it had entered the Sanskrit vocabulary of extra Indian origin in the 8th century. It proves that Sanskrit knowing Indian colonists in Central Asia knew the use of paper long before it came to the mother country. The different forms of the word for paper in modern Indian dialects, Hindi *Kāgad*, Urdu *Kāgaz*, Kashmiri *kākaz*, have, however, been derived from the Persian *Kāghad* and not from *kākali—kakari*.[11]

It is difficult to determine the exact period in which the Jain authors took to writing on paper. Muni Punyavijayajī[12] quotes two references from the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* written in 1435 A.D. by Jinamaṇḍaṇagaṇi, and *Upadeśataraṅgiṇī* written in the 16th century by Ratnamandiragaṇi. In the first reference it is related that Kumārapāla one morning after paying his respects to his teachers and monks proceeded on an inspection of his office (*lekhaśālā*). There, clerks (*lekhakāḥ*) were seen writing on paper (*kāgadapatrāṇi*). He asked for the reason of this unprecedented use of paper as writing material from his teacher and was told that as *śrītālapatras* had been exhausted in writing of the *Jñānakośa*, the use of paper could not be helped. The second reference mentions that Vastupāla once ordered the preparation of six copies of the *Siddhānta*, written on palm-leaves and paper.

From the above references, it may be surmised that Śrī Hemachandra and Mahāmātya Vastupāla allowed the use of paper for writing books, and, therefore, the Jains of Gujarāt were acquainted with paper even in the 12th century. This assumption, could, however, be disputed on the following grounds: (1) The references quoted belong to the 15th and 16th centuries, and, therefore, their testimony to an event which took place four hundred years earlier, is not wholly trustworthy. (2) Muni Punyavijayajī, whose knowledge of Jain manuscripts is unparalleled, stands testimony to the fact that no paper manuscript prior to the 12th and 13th centuries are found in any Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, and the earliest manuscripts on paper, which he had seen, belong to the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. In the Jñāna Bhaṇḍār of Sanghavīnā Pādā, Pāṭan, there is a paper manuscript of the *Stutichaturvimśatikā*, dated V.S. 1211 (A.D. 1154), but Muni Punyavijayajī is doubtful about the sanguineness of this date. That, however, is not the case with the fragment of a paper manuscript found in the Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Jaisalmer by Jina-vijayajī.[13] It is a colophon from a very old manuscript of the *Dhvanyāloka-lochana* by Ānandavardhānāchārya, written for Jinachandra Sūri. Its date is determined by Jinavijayajī between V.S. 1213—1223 (A.D. 1156—1166). If his surmise is correct, then this solitary folio is perhaps the part of the oldest paper manuscript so far known in India.

There is very little information available about the paper industry in this country from the 12th to 15th century. It is also not certain whether paper was being

10. Buhler, *Ind. Pal.*, p. 91.
11. P. C. Bagchi, *Deux lexiques Sanskrit–Chinois*, Tome II, pp. 351–352.
12. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 25, fn. 30.
13. *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Hindī—Gujarātī), III, p. 242.

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Fig. 97

Fig. 98

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manufactured in this country on any considerable scale, as it was not very difficult to get paper of Persian and Central Asian manufacture through the Arab merchants. In the 16th century, however, paper was being extensively produced in this country, as is evident from the name of several manufacturing centres mentioned by 'Alī Efendī, the author of the *Manāqib-i-Hunarwārān*.[14] Speaking of the great centres of paper manufacture under Islamic domination, he says that the Turkish paper from Samarqand was of very good quality and the most ordinary kind was manufactured at Damascus. The best paper of Samarqand manufacture was known as Sultānī. The paper manufactured in northern China was *khatāī*, and the paper manufactured at Tabriz, which was of slightly yellowish texture, was known as *gaunī*. The Indian paper was generally known as *Hindī*. Various centres of paper manufacture in India are mentioned. Thus *Daulatābādī* denoted paper manufactured at Daulatābād, formerly known as Devagiri, *'Ādilshāhī* denoted paper manufactured within the domains of 'Ādil Shāh in Karnātaka and Mahārāshtra, and *Nizāmshāhī* was the paper manufactured at Nizāmābād. It is remarkable that 'Alī Efendī does not mention any paper manufacturing centre in Northern and Western India. Perhaps he had no knowledge of the Kashmīrī paper industry started by Zain al-Ābedīn in the 15th century. *Ahmadābādī* paper is also not mentioned. It is also possible that all the varieties go under the generic title *Hindī*. Paper was also classified from the nature of the material from which it was made. Thus *harīrī* was the name given to silk paper.

With the increased use of paper in India various centres began its manufacture, and in the course of time Kashmīr, Delhi, Paṭnā, Shāhābād, Kālpi, Ghosunda (Mewār), Ahmedābād and Kāghazīpurā near Daulatābād became famous for their good paper. These centres manufactured paper in great quantities to meet the demands of the provinces within which they were situated. The designations of the various kinds of paper were based on different cities and localities where it was manufactured such as Kashmīrī, Daulatābādī, Bangālī, etc; on the names of the manufacturers, such as *Sāhebkhānī*, etc.; on the materials or special technique used, such as *sanni* (made of flax), *mahājāl* (made from old fishermen's nets), and *nukhayyar* (watered paper). The writers from constant experience found out the best kinds of paper for their requirements, and those varieties, in course of time, became standard qualities. To quote an example, to the users of handmade paper in Gujarāt *Kashmīrī*, *Kānpurī* and *Ahmadābādī* are still standard qualities, and in the United Provinces *Ahamdābādī*, for writing the account books, and *Serāmpurī* for rough works, are standard qualities.

Various raw materials such as bamboo, jute, flax, etc., were used as materials for paper manufacture. The *Kashmīrī* paper is manufactured from the waste cocoons and is soft and strong. The best quality of this paper is kept aside for the use of the State. The best Kālpi paper was manufactured from the old discarded fishing nets

14. Martin, *Miniature Painting in Persia*, I p. 105.

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and was known as *mahājāl*. This paper was very white as the flax obtained from a fishing net is perfectly water bleached.

WOODEN PANELS

Wooden panels were used generally in medieval times by the merchants to note down their daily transactions, which they transferred to the account books at their leisure, and the writers to write the rough versions of their books before transferring them to the palm-leaf or paper manuscripts. They were also extensively used as book-covers, and, in that case, they were often illustrated with diverse scenes pertaining to life of the Jinas, incidents from the lives of the great Jain monks, etc. They also served as exercise books for children and often alphabets were painted over these for the children to copy.[15]

THE IMPLEMENTS USED BY MEDIEVAL PAINTERS AND SCRIBES

Cutting.—There was no standardization in the different sizes of paper in medieval times. The required sizes were obtained by cutting from a large sheet with the help of an iron ruler. At the time of cutting the sheet, in order to ensure its immobility, it was fixed with iron clips. This method is still used in cutting the slippery Kashmīr paper.

Burnisher.—To ensure the smooth running of the pen and brush and equal distribution of the ink and colours, paper was burnished by the stationers or paper-makers. Dampness is the enemy of the burnished paper, as on such paper ink is prone to spread. Damp affected paper is burnished after being dipped in the solution of alum and allowed to dry partly before being burnished with an agate or touch-stone burnisher.

Jujval, Hindi, *Jadval*.—In drawing straight lines, reed pens and brushes are of no use and, therefore, painters and writers made use of bow-pens made of iron. As the bow-pen has pointed brush-like projections at both ends, it possibly got the name '*yuga-vala*', 'double point.' After dipping the point in the ink, it was used for drawing straight lines on borders and also for making geometrical patterns on the *yantras*. Bow-pens were manufactured till recently by the blacksmiths of Mārwār, but their place is now being taken by the nibs, styles and bow-pens of European manufacture.

Prākāra.—Compass was generally used for drawing circles in painting and the *yantras*. Their sizes differed. Bow-pen was attached to it while drawing. It is still manufactured in Mārwār on a small scale.

Kāmbī.—In a palm-leaf manuscript, as the width of the leaves was not much, the border lines could be drawn in free hand without much difficulty. But in paper manuscripts, where the leaves attained greater dimensions, it was not possible to draw the border lines without the help of a ruler which was not round in shape but flat, and which did not slip when adjusted for drawing. Its name is probably derived from the *kambī* or bamboo strips, from which rulers seem to have been manufactured in the earlier stages.

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15. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 32.

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CHAPTER II

PIGMENTS, BRUSHES, PENCILS, ETC.

IN medieval India pigments were obtained from minerals and ochres, and from their admixtures different shades were obtained. There were a few vegetable colours, such as indigo, and a few other colours, such as lac-dye and carmine obtained from insects. On the whole, the colours used by Western Indian painters may be divided into two classes. The natural pigments comprise certain elements, compound minerals, and vegetable extracts; and the artificial pigments, all manufactured salts and the pigments owing their colours to vegetable or insect dyestuff.

Carbon from many sources was universal black pigment, and metallic elements, such as gold and silver, were used as colouring and writing materials with the help of suitable binding media. A perusal of the illustrated manuscripts from Western India shows that the carbon and red inks, and the gold and silver powders, were not only used as colouring materials but also used extensively for the purpose of writing. As the use of gold and silver powders for writing was an expensive process, black ink was the commonest medium for writing. Red ink was used to indicate the ends of the chapters and drawing border lines, circles and straight lines, specially in the *yantras*. Gold and silver inks have been used in writing books to a very limited extent, because, firstly, writing in gold and silver, howsoever costly and beautiful it may be, causes strain to the eyes while reading, and, secondly, it is not easy to correct letters written in gold and silver inks. In order to show the splendour of their riches Kumārapāla, a ruler of Gujarāt, and a host of Gujarātī merchants and bankers, ordered certain great Jain works to be copied in gold and silver letters. Such manuscripts were not meant to be read, but simply to be venerated as sacred literature.

The majority of colours in the palette of Western Indian painting came from minerals or natural salts. Some minerals were obtained in fine powders, while others were found in stones, which had to be pulverised in fine dust to obtain colours.

No mineral colour was used in its pristine stage; all impurities were removed by the process of levigation. To separate the colours from two undesirable elements, the sand and humus, the earth is dissolved in water. Naturally, the sand is deposited at the bottom, and the peat and mould tend to float and are skimmed off. But before the coloured earth also sets at the bottom, the water is quickly drained in to another vessel. This process is repeated several times, till the colour is cleaned of all impurities. After being dried in the sun, the colour is ready to be used.

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The above mentioned method of obtaining colour is also mentioned in the *Silparatna*.[1] "After yellow ochres, and wood (?), have been brought from the river beds and hills they should be washed in pure water, pulverised and then reduced to fine powder. The fine powder is to be kept in a vessel full of water for a short time. By this process the colours will tend to float in water and the dirt will be deposited at the bottom. This process is to be repeated several times till the colours attained perfect purity. It is then besmeared on a new earthen waterpot to dry."

WHITE

The nature of white used in Western Indian book illustrations, specially in the palm-leaf period, has not yet been ascertained by scientific analysis. It could not have been white lead or zinc-white, as these pigments are not mentioned in the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting. The *Mānasollāsa*, otherwise known as *Abhilishitārthachintāmaṇi*, a work composed in 1131 A.D. by Someśvara, mentions burnt conch-shell[2] (*śveteshu pūrayet śaṅkham*) as pure white employed by the artists. In his study of palm-leaf illustrations from Nepal, Mr. E. Vredenburg[3] takes the white used there as probably white lead, but Mr. Ajit Ghose objects to this assumption, on the ground that white lead would not lend itself to tempera work.[4] In his opinion there is every possibility that the kaolin and chalk were used for white. In the list of the formulas for mixing colours, which Muni Puṇyavijayajī obtained from two stray paper folios[5], however, the use of zinc-white is ordained. The possibility is that this colour was introduced in India in the 16th century, or even a little earlier, by the Muslims, as the word *safedā* for zinc-white is of Persian origin.

The use of zinc-white by Mughal painters till recently, raises an important question whether the *safedā* used in Mughal paintings of 16th and 17th centuries was in reality the zinc-white, or was it white lead, as the process of making zinc-white was discovered in the 18th century. It seems, there has been some confusion of nomenclatures after zinc-white was available in the market. The question could, however, be only finally settled after a careful scientific analysis of the whites used in Western Indian paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries and early Mughal paintings.

It is a well known fact that white lead was used extensively in medieval European paintings, though it has two drawbacks—firstly, it is poisonous and, therefore, the source of potential danger to workmen, and, secondly, as a water-colour pigment, it may be blackened by sulphur gases in the air. It is remarkable, however, as noticed by Prof. D. V. Thompson[6], that this darkening of colour is uncommon in medieval manuscripts, and, in medieval panel-paintings, this phenomenon is quite unknown. From the

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1. *Śilparatna*, Chitralakshana, I, ss. 40–45.
2. *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, 1, 156.
3. *Continuity of pictorial tradition in art of India*, Rūpam, Jan. 1920, p. 9.
4. *Rūpam*, July 1929, pp. 80—81.
5. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I. pp. 47, 119–120.
6. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting*, p. 94.

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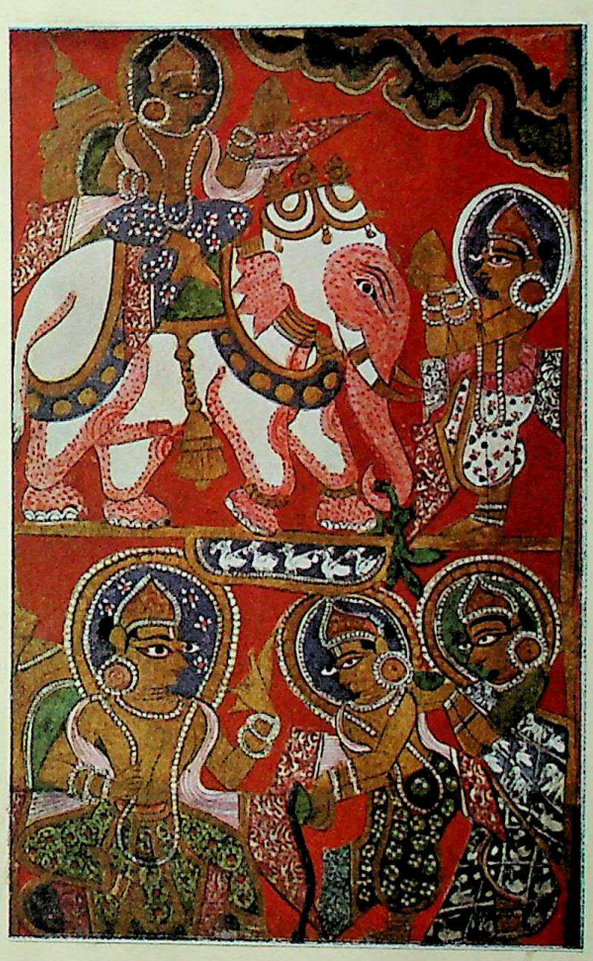

Fig. 99

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medieval painter's point of view, it was a further fault of white lead that it was incompatible with verdigris and orpiment in mixtures. As orpiment was frequently used in Western Indian miniatures with white, it is apparent that it is not white lead but, perhaps, burnt conch-shell, kaolin or chalk.

Another white mentioned in the *Mānasollāsa*, in connection with the plastering of the wall before painting, is *nāgā*[7]. It is said to have been found in the Nilgiris. What it actually was, we are unable to say, but, perhaps, it is kaolin or gypsum. In the *Śilparatna*[8], white (*dhavalavarna*) used as priming was obtained from burnt conch-shell or white earth, the exudation of elephant apple and *nīm* serving as binding media.

The method of preparing zinc-white for painting is as follows: The best quality of Kāshgar zinc-white is ground and sifted through a piece of muslin. This powder is gradually dissolved in *dhau*-gum solution in a porcelain basin, till it attains the consistency of thick milk. This mixture is slowly drained in to another basin, so that the impurities deposited at the bottom are left over. This process is repeated several times, till pure zinc-white is obtained. It is then dried in the sun and is ready to be used.

CARBON

Different formulas for the preparation of inks for writing and painting on palm-leaf, cloth and paper are found in the technical literature on painting and writing. In this connection, it should be remembered that the formulas for inks differ in accordance with the materials for which they were to be used. Muni Puṇyavijayajī has made a detailed study of these formulas[9] which were, however, exclusively meant for writing on palm-leaf and paper, and do not seem to have been used by the painters. The medieval Sanskrit texts on painting knew only of two formulas for the preparation of black pigment. Thus the *Mānasollāsa*[10] speaks of the lampblack as the only black pigment used in medieval painting (*krshṇe kajjalamishyate*). The *Śilparatna*[11] gives the following method for obtaining the lampblack. "In an earthen cup filled with oil, the wick saturated with oil is lighted. Then a globular earthen pot, with the inside of its belly besmeared with dried cowdung, is placed over the flame of the lamp. The lampblack sticking inside the pot should then be scraped, kneaded in an earthen pot and allowed to dry. Then it should be mixed with the *nīm* water, gum and pure water, levigated and then dried." Black pigment, according to the *Śilparatna* again, was obtained from certain mineral. "A barley grain of blue metal (perhaps antimony) should be reduced to fine powder and then mixed with the *kapittha* juice it should be dried."

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7. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 139.
8. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 28–29.
9. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, pp. 38 ff.
10. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 157.
11. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 47—52.

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RED PIGMENTS

Red is the favourite colour with nature. There are red stones, red clays and red limes, in which the oxide of iron is always present. But all such clays and stones cannot be used, as these are slightly tinged with colour which disappears when it is being separated. Therefore, only such clays are chosen in which the oxide of iron is present in sufficient quantity.

In the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting, various shades of red are described. Thus in the *Mānasollāsa*[12], the crude cinnabar (*darada*) stands for blood red ; the lac-dye (*alaktaka*) stands for lake red, and the red ochre (*gairika*) for venetian red. In the *Silparatna*[13], the red lead (*sindūra*) is called soft red (*mridurakta*), the red ochre, as middle red, and the lac-dye, as deep red.

Red ochre (*gerū*).—It is a colour widely used in ancient paintings, and its hue is light and warm. The Venetian red stands for red ochre in the range of European colours. It is doubtful whether it was used in Western Indian miniatures. According to the *Silparatna*[14], red ochre was levigated on stone for full one day and then pure colour obtained by the washing process.

Red lead (*sindūra*).—It was used by Western Indian painters, specially in the paper period miniatures for yellowish red. The colour was prepared by roasting white lead in open air till it attained deep colour. According to the *Silparatna*[15], the red lead was ground for half a day in water and the process was repeated for twenty-four hours after five days, and then it was kept in a suitable receptacle. The *nīm* gum was used as a medium with it.[16]

Vermilion or crude cinnabar (*hiṅgola*). This mineral when ground yields a bright red. The following traditional method is used in its preparation. The crude cinnabar is thoroughly levigated in a mortar with the help of sugared water or lime-juice which is a better substitute. Then the cinnabar is allowed to settle and the yellowish water is carefully drained off. The process is repeated fifteen times, or even more, to obtain purest cinnabar. It is again levigated with sugared water or lime-juice and gum, and, after being thoroughly mixed, it is formed into tablets and dried.[17]

In order to ensure that the above mentioned preparation of cinnabar has the right proportion of gum, the cinnabar powder should be examined several times in the course of preparation. For this, a simple experiment is suggested in which a paper is spotted with cinnabar solution, folded and kept in a damp place. If the ends do not stick immediately, then the gum is in right proportion. To determine whether the cinnabar does not possess the right proportion of gum, the cinnabar spot on the paper should be allowed to dry, and if the colour is easily flaked with the fingernails, then it is apparent that it requires more gum.

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12. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 157.
13. *Chitralakshana*, ss. 117–118.
14. *Ib.*, s. 119.
15. *Ib.*, ss. 120–121.
16. *Ib.*, s. 122.
17. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, pp. 45, 119.

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Realgar or red arsenic (*manaḥśilā*). This brilliant red was very rarely used in medieval Western Indian miniatures. It is a first cousin of the orpiment and is also a sulphide of arsenic. It yields as beautiful an orange yellow as the orpiment. According to the *Silparatna*[18], realgar (*manaḥśilā*) was reduced to fine powder and then used as a colour.

Red lakes (*lākshārasa*). Vermilion was, no doubt, an useful and admired colour, but still it was not adequate enough to produce deep, rich, saturated transparent reds, or even a full range of violet and rosy colours. To obtain dark reds on a small scale, painters are obliged to use other pigments, such as red lakes of organic origin.

The word "lake", as applied to pigments, is derived from a material known as *lacca*, from which lake pigments were prepared. What was ordinarily known as *lacca* is, however, not known. It may, however, be surmised that the material was dark red incrustation of resin which is produced on certain kind of trees by certain kinds of insects. This resin is the source of shellac. If the crude material is boiled in water containing a little alkali, the colouring matter is dissolved in water and sold as lac-dye. The colours which lac-dye can be made to produce are quite violet, and they are apt to be not very brilliant. The lac-lake in European painting was primarily a panel-painting colour, being too dark and dull for books and not stable enough for walls.[19]

In the medieval Indian texts on painting, however, *lākshārasa* or lac-dye, as a colour, is very well known. In the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[20], lac-resin (*lākshā*) is mentioned as one of the colouring materials. In the *Mānasollāsa*[21], lac-dye (*alaktaka-rasa*) is prescribed for transparent red (*rakta*), and it was also used for obtaining various mixed shades. In the *Silparatna*[22], it is described as a deep transparent red (*atirakte tu samyojyam varṇe lākshārasam*). From the colour lists of Western Indian painters supplied by Muni Puṇyavijayajī[23], lac-dye (*ālato*) was used as red, and also mixed with other colours to obtain various shades.

The following method of preparing lac-dye is given by Muni Puṇyavijayajī[24] :—

Pure water should be made to boil at a high temperature. In this bubbling hot water, the powder of lac-resin should be gradually mixed. The water should be stirred all the time to prevent the solidification of the resin. After this, the temperature of the water should be raised, and at the interval of every ten minutes the powders of the lode and borax should be thrown in. To ascertain whether the colour was ready, a simple experiment is suggested. Dipping the pen in the solution, a few lines should be drawn on the hand made paper. If the ink does not split, then the colour is ready. The concoction is then taken down from the fire, and, after the water has dried up, the residue is used as colour.

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18. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 120–121.
19. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 109–110.
20. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 40.
21. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 156.
22. *Chitralakshaṇa*, s. 118.
23. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, pp. 119–120.
24. *Ib.*, p. 40, fn. 55.

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The following is the proportion of the ingredients in the formula : ¼ seer water, 1 *tolā* good dry resin of the *pīpal* known as *lākhdānā*, ½ *tolā Pathānī lodh* and one anna weight of borax. The quantities of these ingredients have to be multiplied proportionately if more lac-dye is required. If the lac-dye was used on palm-leaf then madder, one-fourth of the quantity of resin was added as it deepened the shade.

Pothī.—A variety of Indian lake was also obtained from the dark red berries of the *poī*-plant. The colour, as mentioned in the lists of colours by Muni Puṇyavijayajī was known as *pothī*.[25]

Kermes.—The kermes seems to have been used on a small scale in the palm-leaf miniatures from Western India, though in the miniatures on paper its use seems to have been general. Though the Sanskrit texts on painting do not mention kermes as a colouring material, some very interesting information about the *kṛmirāga* or carmine is obtained from the Jain literature. Commenting on the *gāthā* 567 of the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, a book of great sanctity to Digambara Jain community, Āśādhara observes that in the Sanskrit commentary and glosses, *kṛmirāga* was an insect product and was used in dyeing valuable shawls. In the Prākṛt commentary, the following story about its origin is quoted. In the country of the Charmaraṅga Mlechchhas, it was a custom to draw out human blood with leeches and collect it in vessels. After a few days, weevils were produced which yielded the *kṛmirāga* for dyeing shawls.[26] There is another interesting story of a Persian merchant in the *Bṛhatkathā-kosha*[27] in which he buys a girl named Chumkārikā, feeds her for six months, and draws her blood with leeches and produces the *kṛmirāga* insects thereby.

From the foregoing descriptions of the kermes, it is apparent that the production of carmine was a closely guarded secret, and the cock and bull stories about its origin were designedly spread to prevent close enquiries. Another interesting point which emerges from the stories is that the *kṛmirāya* was not an Indian product and the Charmaraṅga Mlechchhas (probably the people of Samarqand) and the Persians had the monopoly of its production.

The Arabs called a red insect-dyestuff "kermes." This Arabic designation was taken over into medieval Latin in the form of the adjective *Kermesinum*, from which the Italian *cremisino*, the French *Cramoisie* and the English Crimson were derived.[28]

India in the 17th century imported kermes which is called cochineal owing to the confusion of the nomenclatures from Persia, though it does not seem to have been very popular in this country. Sir Thomas Roe stands testimony to this fact. According to him, "Cochineal will never sell as certainty. Few know it. For a pound or two one may give a good price ; but it is no commoditie of use. Those of Sinda only

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25. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma* pp. 119–120.
26. Hariṣena, *Bṛhatkathā-kośa*, ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Intro. p. 88, Bombay, 1943.
27. *Ib.*, 80, 2 ; 102 (1)
28. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

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Fig. 100

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buy it. The Persians bring a little and retaille it at 35 ruppies a great seere.''[29] Its restricted use seems due to the fact that it was used for preparing the carmine for painting only and not much could be absorbed that way.

The *krimdānā* is a species of insects which breed on cacti. Only the female insects of the species yield a colour known as the *kirmizī* or *gulālī*. The following method is followed in its preparations :—

The kermes is tied in a piece of cotton cloth with the *Paṭhānī lodh* and *bujnuk*. It is allowed to soak in water for the whole night. Afterwards, it is boiled on slow fire and then strained. When the water has evaporated the residue should be mixed with very acid curd (*dahī*). If black-shaded carmine is desired, no curd should be added.

BLUE PIGMENTS

Symbolically and æsthetically, the colour blue has appealed to Indian mind from very ancient days. In the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā, the brilliance of ultramarine supplements and vivifies, as it were, the dullness of the red and yellow ochres. The sparkling deep blue, used to delineate jewels in ornaments and garments, adds a peculiar charm to the figures, and the ultramarine tinged clouds and birds have a beauty of their own.

Indigo.—The medieval texts on painting acclaim with one voice as indigo being the chief blue of the painters in the middle ages. The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[30] mentions *nīla* or indigo as one of the colouring materials, and, in the *Mānasollāsa*, the shade of indigo (*nīlī*) is compared to blue lotus, and its admixture with various colours to obtain various shades is described. Though indigo has not been used in the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā or Ellura, its use is apparent in the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts from Bengal, Nepāl[31] and Western India.

Indigo was known to the ancient Egyptians, and it was imported by the Greeks and Romans from India, whence its name. It was extracted from a certain plant known to botany as indigoferæ. It was primarily used as a dye, but was also used as a blue pigment. The importation of indigo to Europe from the Orient continued through the Middle Ages, and the best quality in European markets was known as Baghdād indigo or Gulf indigo.

Ultramarine azure (*rājāvarta, lāzvard*).—There is evidence to show that blue was extracted from the lapis lazuli in quite early times, long before any of the recipes for its extraction was known to European texts on colour-making. As its name suggests, this colour was brought ready made from some land 'across the seas' to Europe. The lapis lazuli, from which ultramarine blue was extracted, is almost exclusively found in Badakshān and Persia. Its source as a colour was known since a long time, as attested by the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā[32]. The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[33] counts the lapis

29. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. by W. Foster, p. 485, Lond., 1899.
30. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 40.
31. *Rūpam*, 1920, p. 9.
32. G. Yazdani, *Ajaṇṭā*, Vol. I, pp. 1–2.
33. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 40.

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lazuli (*rājavarta*) as a colouring material, and in the *Harshacharita* (middle of the 7th century)[34] the ultramarine tunics (*rājāvartaka mechakaih kañchukaiḥ*) are praised. In the *Mānasollāsa*[35] the shade of the *rājāvarta* is compared with the colour of the flowers of *Linum Usitatissimum* or common flax plant, which shows that its author was well acquainted with this colour. The *rājāvarta* or *rājavarta*, wrongly translated by Dr. Stella Kramrisch as 'deep coloured brass'[36], is apparently the Sanskritised form of the Persian *lāzward*, meaning *lapis lazuli*, the source of ultramarine azure. It could be, therefore, said that the stone was imported from Persia, and, perhaps, the colour was also imported ready made, as no process for its manufacture is mentioned in Sanskrit texts.

In the palm-leaf period of Western Indian painting (circa 1200—1400 A.D.), ultramarine blue was not used. But in a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra*, owned by the Sheth Anandjī Mangaljīnī Peḍhīnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Īḍar, which Prof. Norman Brown dates at the close of the 14th century,[37] there is a miniature depicting the birth of Śrī Mahāvīra (Fig. 59) in which the border of the *oṛhanī* of the queen, lying on a couch, is outlined with a thick streak of ultramarine blue. As the miniatures in this manuscript have also gold in their colour scheme, and to which we will have to refer later on, it seems possible that the ultramarine blue was reintroduced in India by the Persians, sometimes in the 14th century. In Western Indian miniatures on paper, however, ultramarine is the favourite blue.

Even the best and darkest lapis lazuli contains a good deal of material which is not blue, such as calcite which is white, and iron pyrite which sparkles like gold. If lapis lazuli is powdered, then the result is disappointing as a pigment, as, unless the stone is unusually deep coloured, the powder is not blue at all but simply grey. Under a microscope, this powder may be seen to consist of a few particles of blue among a great many colourless particles. The blue cannot be separated from the impurities by washing with water. More complicated methods had to be invented in the Middle Age in Europe to extract good ultramarine from the lapis lazuli; and there is no documentary evidence to show that the necessary invention was known before the 13th century.[37]

YELLOW PIGMENTS

In the ancient wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā, yellow extracted from yellow ochres was only used. In the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[38], orpiment (*haritāla*) is mentioned as one of the colouring materials. In the *Mānasollāsa*[39], the only yellow spoken of is orpiment. In the medieval Indian palm-leaf manuscripts, orpiment was used for correction and as a yellow pigment. Two kinds of orpiments, *dagaḍī* and *vargī*, are known and

34. *Harshacharita*, p. 202.
35. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 161.
36. *The Vishṇudharmottara*, p. 51, Calcutta, 1928.
37. *J. I. S. O. A.*, V (1937), p. 6.
37. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.
38. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 40.
39. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 157.

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Fig. 102

Fig. 101

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only the latter is used as pigment. The orpiment is thoroughly levigated to the consistency of fine wheat flour and sifted. This powder is again levigated with the gum Arabic solution. To determine the right proportion of the gum, the same experiment, as in the case of cinnabar, is suggested.[40]

Orpiment is a sulphide of arsenic and found in nature as stone. Its colour is light, vivid yellow, sometimes pure yellow, but more often slightly inclined towards orange. In its natural state, it has a mica-like sparkle which recalls the lustre of metallic gold.

Peoṛī.—It is certain that *peoṛī* was never used as yellow in the miniatures of the palm-leaf period, and no Sanskrit text makes any allusion to it. It seems that the colour was introduced from outside, probably from Persia, in the 15th century. In Jaipur it is still known as *gogilī*, an Indianised form of the Persian *gāvgil*, 'cow-earth'. *Peoṛī* seems to have been equally favourite as orpiment in the miniatures on paper after 1400 A.D. The *peoṛī* was obtained from the urine of the cow fed on mango leaves for a few days. The urine was boiled and, after the water had evaporated, the sediment was rolled into balls which were dried at first on charcoal fire and then in the sun.[41] The colour is deep yellow and very pleasing to the eye.

GREEN PIGMENTS

White, black, red, blue yellow are only basic colours, according to Sanskrit texts. The rest of the colour shades were obtained by admixtures. Thus green has not been mentioned as a separate colour; its various shades were obtained by the careful admixtures of blue, yellow, white, etc. Terraverte green, however, was known as a separate colour to the painters of Cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā and Ellura[42].

Green was used in palm-leaf painting not as a separate colour, its shades being obtained by admixtures. After the 14th century, however, several greens seem to have been added to the palette of the painters.

Terraverte.—The different varieties of green earth yielded rather a dull transparent green soapy in texture. Terraverte is specially used in the 17th century painting, to represent green foreground. However, as already observed, its use was known as early as the 7th century.

Harābhāṭā or *harāḍhābā* seems to have been malachite green. This mineral occurs in several modifications in nature, some pale, others bright grassy green; some are very hard and stony, and some better suited to colouring, rather friable. Speaking from the geological point of view, azurite is a parent, and the malachite usually

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40. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 82.
41. Watts, *Dict. of Economic Products of India*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 132-133.
42. Paramasivan, *Technique of the painting process in the Cave Temple at Ajaṇṭā*, Ann. Rep. Arch. Dept. of H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions, 1939, p. 29; *Technique of the Painting Process in the Cave Temple at Ellura*, *Ib.*, p. 38.

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represents a changed form of the original blue deposit. The colour is pale, bright, opaque and crystalline. It was extensively used to depict grassy fields, mounds, etc.

Zangāl.—Verdigris became a favourite green with the painters in the 15th century and later. It is an acetate of copper prepared by treating pieces of copper with vinegar. Verdigris is an excellent green very pleasing to the eyes when fresh, but after sometime it is darkened and black spots appear. Moreover, its effect on paper is disastrous. The parts on which it is applied become so fragile in course of time that a little mishandling makes the paper crumble.

MIXED COLOURS

In the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting, a list of mixed colours is usually given to serve as a guidance to painter. These colours were universally used in wall-paintings and miniatures on wood, cloth, palm-leaf and paper.

The following lists of mixed colours (*miśravarṇa*) are found in the *Mānasollāsa*[43] and the *Śilparatna*[44] :—

Mānasollāsa LIST.

(1) Cinnabar mixed with conch-shell lime yields a red-lotus hue.

(2) Lac-dye mixed with conch-shell lime yields the shade of the *rasa* (*?*) (variant *chora*) plant.

(3) Red ochre mixed with conch-shell lime powder yields the shade of smoke.

(4) Orpiment mixed with conch-shell lime yields the shade of the *chorāśva* (*?*) plant.

(5) Lampblack mixed with conch-shell lime also yields the shade of smoke.

(6) Indigo mixed with conch-shell lime yields the pigeon gray.

(7) Indigo mixed with orpiment yields green.

(8) Lampblack mixed with red ochre yields dark brown shade.

(9) Lampblack mixed with lac-dye yields the shade of the *pāṭala* flower.

(10) Lac-dye mixed with indigo yields the deep purple of the *Jambū* fruit.

LIST OF MIXED COLOURS IN THE *Śilparatna*.

(1) White mixed with red yields a fair colour (*gaurachchhavi*).

(2) White, lampblack and yellow mixed in equal proportion yield a speckled shade (*sāra*).

(3) White and lampblack mixed in equal proportion yield an elephant grey.

(4) Red and yellow mixed in equal proportion yield the shade of the *bakula* fruit or flame.

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43. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 158—164.

44. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 135—142.

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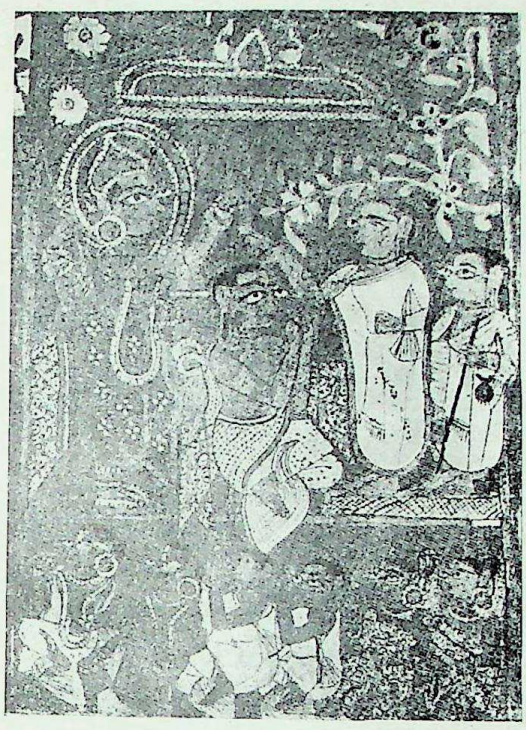

Fig. 103

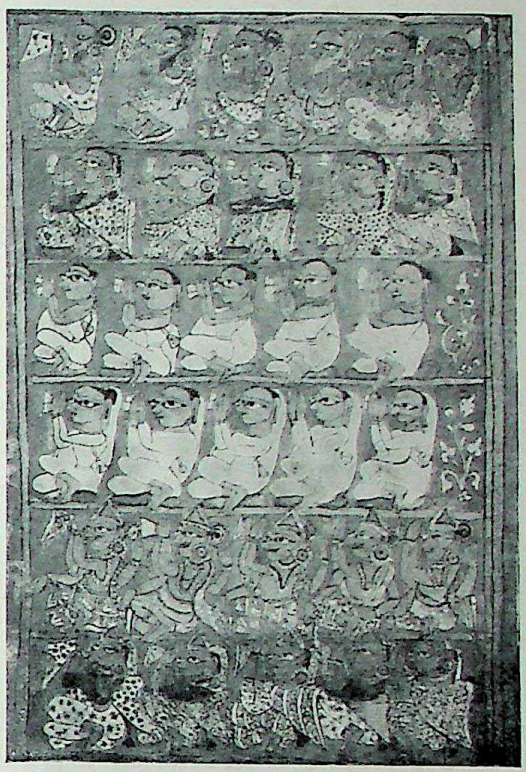

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

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Fig. 106

Fig. 107

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(5) Red with yellow in proportion of two to one yields a deep red (*atiraktaka*).

(6) Yellow mixed with white in proportion of two to one yields a tawny colour (*piṅgala*).

(7) The body colour is obtained by the following admixtures :—

(i) yellow mixed with lampblack in proportion of two to one ;

(ii) lampblack and yellow in equal proportion.

(8) Orpiment mixed with deep brown yields the shade of a parrot's feather.

(9) Lac-dye mixed with vermilion yields deep red.

(10) Lampblack mixed with lac-dye yields the deep purple of the *Jambū* fruit.

(11) Lac-dye, *Jātiliṅga*, white and vermilion mixed in equal proportion yield the body colour of the members of higher castes.

(12) Lampblack mixed with indigo yields the shade for hair.

Muni Puṇyavijayajī has collected several lists of mixed colours from various manuscripts. The inclusion of zinc-white, *peoṛī*, verdigris, etc., in those lists however proves that these lists deal with the colours employed in the illustrated Western Indian manuscripts of the paper period, roughly from the 15th to 18th century.

I. In the first list obtained by Muni Puṇyavijayajī[45] from Mr. Maṇilāl Paṇḍyā of Pāṭan, the proportionate weights of the different constituent colours in mixed colours are given. The following are the descriptions of the mixed colours given in this list :—

(1) The admixture of zinc-white 4 *ṭāk*, *peoṛī* 1 *ṭā.*, and red lead 1½ *ṭā.*, yields fair body colour,

(2) The admixture of red lead 4 *ṭ.* and indigo 1 *ṭ.* yields the shade of the date palm (*khārika*).

(3) The admixture of orpiment 1 *ṭ.* and indigo ½ *ṭ.*, yields yellowish blue shade.

(4) Zinc-white 1 *ṭ.*, and lac-dye 1½ *ṭ.*, yield a deep rose (*gulālī*).

(5) The admixture of zinc-white 1 *ṭ.* and indigo 1 *ṭ.*, yields a sky blue.

(6) The admixture of red lead 1 *ṭ.* and *peorī* ½ *ṭ.*, gives orange colour.

II. List of mixed colours obtained from the folio of an old manuscript in the possession of Mr. Maṇilāl Lakshmīchand Pāṇḍe, an expert Jain sculptor.[45]

(1) *See* No. (1) in list I.

(2) Zinc-white 4 *ṭ.* and indigo (*pothīgalī*) 1 *ṭ.*, yield date palm shade.

(3) Orange yellow. *See* No. (6) list I.

(4) Yellowish blue. *See* No. (3) list I.

(5) Deep rose. *See* No. (4) list I.

(6) *Peoṛī* and indigo one *ṭ.*, each, yield betel-leaf green.

(7) Sky blue. *See* No. (5) list I.

(8–9) Zinc-white and red lead, one *ṭāk*, each, yield wheat colour. Red lead and *pothī*-red one *ṭ.*, each, and four *ṭ.* zinc-white, yield the same shade.

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45. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 47, fn. 63. 45. *Ib.*, pp. 119–120.

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(10) Verdigris and *peoṛī*, one *ṭ.* each, yield a parrot feather green (*sūyāpaṅkha*).

(11) Pure (*amlasār*) sulphur 4 *ṭ.*, indigo 2 *ṭ.* yield sky blue

(12) Cinnabar 1 *ṭ.*, indigo 2 *ṭ.*, *pothi*-red one *rattī*, and zinc-white one *ṭ.*, yield shade of brinjal.

(13) Zinc-white 4 *ṭ.*, and *peoṛī* 2 *ṭ.*, yield pale yellow (*pāṇḍura*).

(14) Indigo 1 *ṭ.*, *peoṛi* 2 *ṭ.*, lac-dye, black ink and red lead three drops each yield mango green (*āmbaraṅga*).

(15) Lampblack (*syāhī*) and *pothī*-red one *ṭ.*, each yield a musk shade.

(16) Red lead 4 *ṭ.*, and indigo 3 *ṭ.*, yield *khākī* colour.

(17) Zinc-white 4 *ṭ.* and mango green 1 *ṭ.*, yield *argajā* (muddy brown) colour.

(18) *Peoṛī* and *pothī* two *ṭ.*, each, yield *chokhā* (*?*) colour.

(19) Zinc-white 3 *ṭ.* and *peoṛī* 1 *ṭ.*, mixed with wheat brown, yield the shade of wood.

(20–21) Zinc-white, red lead or red ochre and zinc-white, yield the body colour of the Mughals (*mughlīrang*).

(22) Zinc-white and *peoṛī* yield fair body colour.

(23) Red lead and orpiment yield wheat colour.

(24) *Peoṛī* and indigo yield yellowish blue.

(25) Orpiment and indigo yield mango-leaf green.

(26) Zinc-white and indigo yield sky colour.

(27) Zinc-white, *peoṛī* and red ochre, yield the colour of matted locks (*jaṭā*).

(28) Red lead and *peoṛī* yield the colour of lion.

(29) Zinc-white, indigo and red lead, yield *alyī* colour.

(30–31) Zinc-white, orpiment and indigo yield elephant gray. Zinc-white, red lead and orpiment also yield the same shade.

(32) Indigo, lampblack, red lead and orpiment, yield the shade of yellow *peoṛī*.

III. This list was obtained from the folio of a manuscript in the collection of Mr. Govardhandās Lakshmī Shankar Trivedī.

(1) Mountain gray. Obtained from *misī* (*?*) and *vānī* (*?*)

(2) Ash grey (*bhabhutīno raṅg*) is obtained by the admixture of indigo, chalk and a little quantity of lac-dye.

(3) The colour of cloud (*meghvarṇa*) is obtained by the admixture of indigo and chalk.

(4) Purple (*vēgaṇio raṅg*) is obtained from indigo and lac-dye.

(5) Smoke colour (*dhumrano raṅg*) is obtained from the admixture of a little indigo and lac-dye and chalk.

(6) Pistachio green (*pistāno raṅg*) is obtained from chalk, red lead and a little lac-dye.

(7) Fair body colour is obtained from the admixture of chalk, red lead and lac-dye.

(8) Light mountain gray (*dhuñdhalo ṛahāḍī*) is obtained from the admixture of a little indigo and lac-dye and chalk.

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Fig. 108 to 119

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Fig. 120 to 131

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(9) Wheat colour is obtained from orpiment, red lead and chalk.

(10) Deep purple (*kālorīganio*) is obtained from the admixture of indigo in sufficient quantity and a little lac-dye.

(11) The colour of blue *chāsa* is obtained from the *ṭikoḍī* and verdigris.

(12) Body-colour of a woman is obtained from orpiment and zinc-white.

(13) Blue (*nīlo-raṅg*) is obtained from indigo and orpiment.

(14) Rose colour (*gulābī raṅg*) is obtained from zinc-white and lac-dye.

(15) Deep-blue (*gohīro nīlo*) is obtained from the *ṭikoḍī* and indigo.

In the above list the colours should be mixed in different proportions in accordance with the experience of the artist[46].

IV. This list was obtained by Mr. Sarabhai Nawab from some paper manuscript.

(1) Sky colour (*āsmānīraṅg*) obtained from zinc-white and indigo.

(2) Fair colour (*goro-raṅg*) obtained from zinc-white and red lead.

(3) Blue colour (*nīlo-raṅg*) obtained from the *peoṛī* and indigo.

(4) Purple (*vaīgaṇio raṅg*) obtained from cinnabar (*hiṅgola*) and indigo.

(5) Rose colour (*gulābi raṅg*) obtained from zinc-white and lac-dye (*alto*).

(6) Blue obtained from verdigris and *peoṛī*.

(7) *Zaharī* obtained from verdigris and indigo.

(8) Elephant grey obtained from lampblack and zinc-white.

(9) Orpiment and indigo yield green.

(10) *Hurmuzī* earth (*hīrmach*) and indigo yield deep purple (*bhukharo*).

(11) Lac-dye (*ālatā*) and red lead yield the shade of henna.

(12) Zinc-white, *peoṛī* and cinnabar yield fair colour.

(13) Cinnabar and *peoṛī* yield saffron colour (*kesario raṅg*).

(14) Indigo, lac-dye and zinc-white yield the shade of *sosan* flower.

(15) Red lead, *peoṛī* and zinc-white yield wheat colour.

(16) Cinnabar and zinc-white yield the shade of lac-dye (*maḥāvarṇo*).

(17) Cinnabar, zinc-white and lamp-black yield a dark body colour (*sāmalo raṅg*).

V. This list of mixed colours was obtained by Mr. Sarabhai Nawab from another manuscript. It repeats much of the information already given in other lists.

(1) Parrot feather green. *See* list II, No. (10).

(2) Pure orpiment and indigo yield a deep blue.

(3) Sky blue. *See* No. I, (5).

(4) Cinnabar and zinc-white yield fair colour.

(5) Rose colour is obtained from zinc-white and *pothī*-red.

(6) The colour of the sky (*ākāsī raṅg*) is obtained from lamp-black and zinc-white.

(7) *Peoṛī* and red lead yield very fair colour.

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46. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma.*, p. 120.

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(8) Golden colour (*sonāno raṅg*) is obtained from orpiment, zinc-white and red lead.

(9) The hue of shellac (*lākhī raṅg*) is produced from lac-dye, cinnabar and red ochre.

After enumerating various mixed colours, the list gives a few instructions for applying colours. Thus it ordains that where only verdigris is used some sugar should be mixed with it (*ekato janghāl dījii tyāre sākar nāshihi*). A beautiful blue (*abjā*) could be obtained from zinc-white and ultramarine (*lājhava raṅg*).

GOLD

In Western Indian miniatures of the paper period, gold is extensively used as colour. It was very favourite with the painters as it suggested power and grandeur, and as its gleaming lustre appealed to the eyes.

In the present state of our knowledge it cannot be said when gold came into use in gilding images and painting, but there is little doubt that in the early centuries of the Christian era gold leaves were used for decorating the stucco images and *stūpas* in Gandhāra. In the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā and Ellura, the use of gold is unknown, though the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[47] mentions gold as a colouring material, and in the *Mānasollāsa* and the *Śilparatna* elaborate processes for preparing the gold-powder are given. In the illustrated Jain manuscripts from Western India, the use of gold is only seen at the end of the palm-leaf period. In the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra*, owned by the Sheth Ānandjī Mangaljīnī Pedhīnā Jñāna Bhaṇdār at Īdar, use of gold seems to have been made for the first time. As this manuscript has been assigned to the end of the 14th century on good grounds by Dr. Norman Brown, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Indians learned the use of gold in painting from Central Asia[48]. That the mid-fourteenth century saw the introduction of gold in Western Indian painting is further supported by certain 14th century cloth-paintings described elsewhere.

The use of gold as colouring material and also as border decoration was introduced by the Timurides in the 15th century. According to Dr. Goetz, in the 16th century, this method of decoration extended from Bokhāra to various Persian centres and thence to India[49], though it is now known that the Indians used gold in their paintings at least two hundred years earlier, and, on the strength of literary sources, its use extended as early as the 7th century A.D.

In the *Mānasollāsa*[50], a detailed description of how to prepare gold powder is given. It seems that the *vīraṇa* grass with sharp pointed tips mixed with gold-leaf was levigated slowly with the pestle on a stone slab. Then the powder was put in a bronze vessel mixed

47. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 40.
48. *J.I.S.O.A.* V, pp. 5-6.
49. Kuhnel and Goetz, *Indian book-painting* p. 45, Lond. 1926.
50. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 171—177.

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Fig. 132 to 135

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with water ; it was washed several times till the sand and dust were completely eliminated. After this, this gold powder (*hemakalka*) was ready to be used mixed with the size (*vajralepa*) in very small quantities. While applying gold to a painting, only the tip of the brush was dipped in the colour and only golden ornaments were painted with it. When the gold had dried, it was burnished with a boar's tusk in order to impart gloss to the colour.

From the above description of the preparation of gold powder, an interesting point emerges. It is emphasised that gold powder was to be used in very small quantities. Apparently, it was considered too precious to be wasted and only ornaments were to be painted with it. This injunction apparently explains the absence of gold in the 12th and 13th century palm-leaf miniatures, and its cautious use in the 14th century miniatures and cloth-paintings. In the 15th century, however, gold is profusely used, and that may be due to the cheapening of gold price.

The *Silparatna*[51], a 16th century Sanskrit text on architecture and painting, gives methods for making gold powder and also applying gold-leaf to paintings. The methods are very similar to those employed by the Mughal painters and it is possible that the author of the *Silparatna* derived his information from the Persian sources.

According to the *Silparatna* gold-leaves were at first reduced to very tiny pieces, and then mixed with the sand and water they were thoroughly levigated in a smooth stone mortar. After the gold leaves were reduced to powder, it was put in a glass cup and the sand and dust removed by the washing process. When the powder was cleaned of all impurities, it was ready to be used with the glue. After the application of gold, the surface was burnished with a boar's tusk to impart it a glossiness.

In the second process of applying gold, the design which required the application of gold was at first drawn with the size, and then a similar design cut from the gold-leaf was imprinted on it. Gloss was imparted by rubbing with a cotton-wool ball. It is remarkable that this method was followed in the 15th century illustrated manuscripts from Western India.

The following methods for making gold and silver powders in Western India have been recorded by Muni Puṇyavijayajī[52].

1. To prepare gold- or silver-powder to be used as ink or paint, gold- or silver-leaves were put one by one in a hard stone mortar and levigated with the help of clean *dhau*-gum solution. After the powder was ready, it was dissolved in sugared water and thoroughly stirred. When the gold-powder had settled at the bottom of the pot the water was slowly drained. This process was repeated several times till no trace of *dhau*-gum remained. After being dried, the powder was ready to be used.

2. To prepare gold-powder in small quantity, a glass dish was besmeared with the *dhau*-gum and a gold- or silver-leaf was imprinted on it and thoroughly reduced

51. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 123—130.

52. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 44.

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to powder by the quick motion of the fingers. The rest of the process is the same as in 1.

The modern method of preparing gold-powder by the Mughal painters of Delhi differs very little from the methods mentioned above. In this method, to reduce gold-leaves to powder, at first, a light coating of honey is applied to a porcelain dish and then the gold-leaf is imprinted on it so carefully that no crease or bubble appears. After this, it is thoroughly reduced to powder with the light movement of the fingers. Several gold-leaves are treated in this way, and if the fingers are unable to move, due to the stickiness of the honey, a few drops of water are sprinkled now and then. After the gold-leaves have been thoroughly reduced to powder, more water is added and the mixture is strained through a closely woven piece of cloth which is always stirred to avoid gold settling on the strainer. This process ensures that uncrushed particles do not remain in the fine gold-powder. This solution is then allowed to settle for fifteen hours. By that time, the gold-powder settles down at the bottom of the basin and then the water is drained off slowly. The mouth of the basin is then covered with a glass cover to avoid dust. The required quantity of gold-powder is taken from the vessel and used with the size as binding medium. The right proportion of the size is required, because if the size is in lesser quantity then the gold-powder does not stick to the painting; and if it is in greater quantity then the gold looses its lustre and cannot be burnished.

We have already seen the method of imprinting cut gold-leaf design as given by the *Silparatna*. In cheaper Mughal paintings, and specially in the miniatures of Jaipur school, instead of applying gold-powder the use of gold-leaf is preferred. The process is analogous to that mentioned in the *Silparatna*, except that the size with which the design has to be drawn possesses a little proportion of sugar in it.

BINDING MEDIA

Size.—In the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[53], the following formula for making the size is given:—"The buffalo hide clippings are boiled in water until they become soft like butter. The water then has to evaporate and sticks have to be made of the paste and dried in the sunshine. When required it is boiled in a mud vessel with water; it will make any colour fast with which it is fixed." A similar process for manufacturing the size is given in the *Mānasollāsa*.[54] After describing the processes involved in the manufacture of the size, the author enjoins that, added in right proportion, it tempers the colours and stops their flaking.[55]

It is mentioned in the *Vishṇudharmottara* that in wall-paintings three layers of priming were laid in the *chūnam* mixed with the size. In the *Mānasollāsa*, it is said that the size should be used with white earth and applied to the wall in three coatings to

53. Tr. by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, pp. 16–17.
54. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, ss. 132—140.
55. *Ib.*, s. 136.

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Fig. 136

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obtain good ground. Burnt conch-shell powder and *nāga*-white from the Nīlagiris also served the same purpose.

Besides the size, the *Vishṇudharmottara*[56] commends the exudation of the *sindūra* tree (Grislea Tomentosa) as an astringent for tempering the colours. In the *Silparatna*[57], in addition to the size, exudations of the *kapittha* and *nīm* are suggested as astringents for the ground made of burnt conch-shell and oyster-shell powders. These were also used as binding media for the lampblack and *śyāmadhātu*.[58] With the red lead, the *nīm* exudation served as astringent.[59] In another place, the exudations of the *kapittha* and *nīm* are ordained to be used with all colours.[60]

In Jain literature, the proper media for lampblack are the gums of the *nīm*, catechu and gum-arabic,[61] the use of the *dhau* and other kinds of gums is expressly forbidden. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the names of gum arabic and *dhau* are mentioned for the first time, and quite possibly their use as binding medium was learnt from the Persians. In any case, it is at least certain that no medieval Sanskrit text on painting mentions gum-arabic and *dhau* as astringents.

In the period of illustrated paper manuscripts which extended to Mughal times, gum-arabic was used for all colours, except zinc-white and *peoṛī* for which *dhau*-gum (Anogeiss Latifolia) served as binding medium. The *dhau*-gum is straw coloured and extensively used by the calico printers of Lucknow. If it is used with any other colour, except those mentioned, the colour curdles, spoiling its effect.

BRUSHES, PENCILS, STYLES

Nothing has survived to show what kind of brushes, pencils, styles, etc., were used in Western Indian painting. There are, however, medieval Sanskrit texts which give us more or less accurate descriptions of these accessories.

Style.—According to the *Mānasollāsa*[62], a brush handle, measuring the small finger in length with the tip measuring two angulas, was made of bamboo. To the tip of this handle, a copper nail (*śaṅku*), measuring two barley grains, one *yava* of its length being visible and the rest struck inside the handle, was fixed. This style was known as *tindu* and, though the uses of this contraption are not enumerated, it was probably used for scratching the design on palm-leaf before it was smeared with the lampblack as is seen in manuscripts from South India.

Pencil.—*Salākā* or red pencil for drawing is mentioned in the *Prasanna Rāghava*,[63] a Sanskrit drama. The following formula is prescribed by the *Silparatna*[64] for making such kind of pencil which is designated as *kiṭṭalekhanī* :—

" At first some cowdung and old powdered slag were to be mixed and pounded to a thick paste with equal amount of water in a stone-mill. Now the paste was ready to be

56. Dr. Stella Kramrisch, tr. p. 51.
57. *Chitralakshaṇa*, s. 29.
58. *Ib.*, ss. 51–52.
59. *Ib.*, s. 122.
60. *Ib.*, s. 133.
61. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 42.
62. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, [142-143.
63. III, 14.
64. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 35–37.

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moulded into the shape of a pencil. It was wick-shaped and was made in different sizes of two, three or four inches. It was used in drawing the first sketches of men, birds, animals, deities, flowers, etc.[65] There was an advantage in the use of pencil, as whenever the lines went astray they could be wiped with a piece of clean cloth and the fresh lines redrawn correctly."[66]

In the *Mānasollāsa*[67], this pencil is designated as *vartikā* and the following formula for its manufacture is given. "Lampblack is pounded with boiled rice from which water has been drained. Then from this paste, pencils (*vartikā*) were moulded in the shape of new shoots."

Brushes.—Brushes are one of the most important accessories for painting. They were of various thickness and thinness used for the different purposes of filling colours, outlining, shading, etc. Bhoja, in the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*[68], gives a detailed description of the various kinds of brushes which he calls *kūrcha*, a word now used in a derogatory sense for the brushes used for white-washing and kindred purposes. Bhoja divides brushes into five categories, i.e., *kūrcha*, *hastakūrcha*, *bhāsakūrcha*, *chalakūrcha*, and *lepanakūrcha*. In this classification of the brushes, the first was shaped like a new shoot of the banyan, the third, like the needle-point. and the fourth, like a new shoot of the *udumbara* tree. The brushes were made from the soft hair obtained from ears of bullocks and asses and the fibres of the bark of certain trees. In the opinion of Bhoja, however, the best brushes were manufactured from fibres. It is doubtful, however, whether fibre brushes were used to draw fine lines in Western Indian miniatures. In the wall-paintings, however, where such fineness was not required, fibre brushes could be used for at least filling the surface with flat colour washes.

In the *Mānasollāsa*[69], brushes are said to have been made from the soft hair obtained from the ears of a calf, tied to the tips of the brush-handles and strengthened with the application of melted shellac. To this kind of brush, the *Mānasollāsa*[70] gives the name of *lekhanī* divided into three classes,—fine (*sūkshma*), medium (*madhya*) and thick (*sthūla*).[71] Thick brushes were used for applying flat colour washes (*sthūlayā lepanam kāryam*) with oblique strokes (*tiryagāhitāyātayā*). Held straight or sideways, the medium brush was used for drawing, and the fine brush was used for fine and delicate brush strokes.

The description of brushes in the *Silparatna*[72] is also of interest. As in the *Mānasollāsa*, the brushes are divided into three categories, thick, medium, and thin, and their length is prescribed as six barley corns. The brush holder seems to have been octagonal or round, and the brush tip, projecting from it, measured half *aṅgula*. For a thick brush,

65. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 37—39.
66. *Ib.*, s. 40.
67. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 14
68. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, Vol. II, p. 259, ss. 12—19.
69. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 145—148.
70. *Ib.*, s. 146.
71. *Ib.*, s. 147.
72. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss.53—58.

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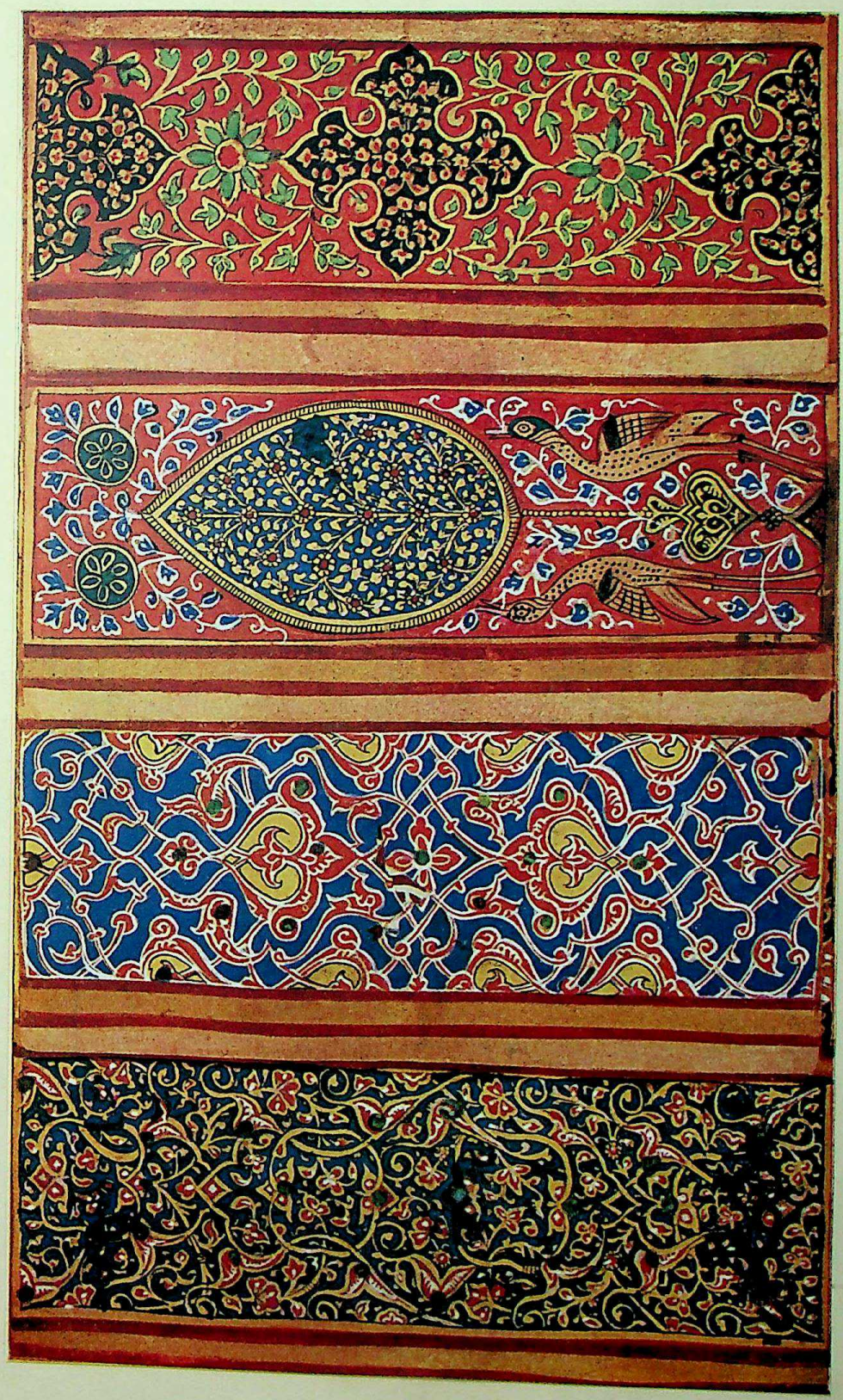

Fig. 137

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the hair from a calf's ear or the underside of a goat was used, but, for a fine pointed brush the fine hair from the muskrat's tail, fastened to the tip of the handle with thread or wax, was used. Nine brushes, three each of fine medium and thick qualities, are prescribed for every colour, though for yellow the use of only thick brush is ordained.

In the Mughal period, the selection of brushes was made very carefully. If the brush was hard and did not clot when dipped in water, it could not be used in drawing sweeping curves, an essential feature of Mughal painting. The following method is followed by a few painters, still working in the Mughal style.

In making the selection of suitable hair for the manufacture of brushes, the painter keeps two prerequisites in view ; firstly, only that hair should be used that clots when dipped in water, and, secondly, it should not be extra soft or hard. The hair of Persian cat, she-buffalo, goat, and squirrel, satisfies the above-mentioned conditions, and, therefore, used for making brushes. The favourite brushes of the Mughal painters are made from the hair of a squirrel's tail, because it is easily obtainable and makes an excellent brush. It should, however, be kept in mind that, while selecting the hair of a squirrel, its tip should be black ; the hair with a white point does not clot properly and hence is useless for the purpose of brush-making. It is necessary, therefore, to select young squirrels whose downy hair serves the purpose very well. Wetting the tail of a squirrel, the hair is gathered and cut with a sharp instrument in the shape of a barley corn. Next, the hair is passed through feather quills cleansed from inside and wetted from one end and taken out from the other. Generally, the quills obtained from the feathers of a pigeon serve the purpose well, though for thicker brushes peacock feather quills are used. Finally handles are attached. Brushes of various degrees of fineness, equivalent to 00, 0, 1, 2 and 5 of the modern brushes for water-colour painting, are made.

Different kinds of brushes are used for the purpose of outlining, colouring, stippling and finishing. For painting pearls and dotting, a brush with a roundish point is used. For painting hair, a very fine brush, with only a few hair, is employed. If the point of an ordinary brush is extra sharp, then it is removed with a pen knife.

A painter is expected to observe certain rules, which, if properly observed while wielding the brush, impart beauty to lines and colours. Thus, it is expected of a good painter that he wields his brush with light but steady hand. If he uses his brush very firmly, the painting may be technically perfect, but is devoid of that lyrical feeling which is the very life-breath of Mughal art. There should not be breaks in strokes. In using the brush, the following defects should also be avoided : (1) The brush should not be used roughly. (2) It should not be shaken off indiscriminately, as the colour sticking to the brush is sure to fall on the painting. (3) There should not be any break or weakness in drawing.

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CHAPTER III

TECHNICAL PROCESS AND THE TREATMENT OF THE HUMAN FIGURE AND LANDSCAPE

IN studying the technical process involved in the execution of Western Indian painting, we have to depend on the actual manuscript material as well as Sanskrit texts on the technique of painting. A few points in this connection need stressing. (1) In Western Indian illustrated manuscripts of both palm-leaf and paper periods, in common with the contemporary Bengali and Nepālese miniatures, the illustrations take the form of square panels applied to the page without organic relation to the text. Full page illustrations are rare. The square panels, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy[1], are reminiscent of the surfaces of painted walls reduced in size and added to the written page. (2) In the preparation of illustrated manuscripts, two persons were employed, the copyist of the text and the artist of the paintings. On the manuscript folios, rectangular spaces were marked off by the copyist before commencing writing; this feature is made clear from the minute examination of the manuscripts in which writing is detected running over the lines of the square panel reserved for painting. (3) The art is of pure draughtsmanship. It is an art of symbols and the lines are not calligraphic, meaning thereby that deliberate elegance of curves and sweeps are not sought for. All this results in rather an indifferent representation. (4) As observed by Dr. Coomaraswamy, generally, " there is no preoccupation with pattern, colour, or texture for their own sake," but in certain good examples of the *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts, the decoration speaks of certain preconceived plan and mastery in technical handling. (5) The physical peculiarities, particularly the angularity of features and the projection of farther eyes of the human figures, are shared with certain figure drawings of later Ajaṇṭā paintings, and more particularly with the human figures in Ellura paintings. (6) The idealised physical type manifested in broad chest, lion-waist and large eyes extended to the ear, the medieval Western Indian painting shares with the other schools of painting in India. (7) In the majority of the manuscripts, there are not only marginal legends describing the scene, but also thumbnail sketches of the subject as a guide to the painter. (8) In the treatment of landscape, the viewpoint is much elevated, so that in landscape subjects the horizon reaches nearly the top of the page, leaving only a narrow strip of the sky in which are depicted heavy storm clouds. Other features of the landscape will be discussed in due course.

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1. *Cat. of Ind. Coll., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part IV, p. 32.

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According to the tradition embodied in the Sanskrit texts on painting, a picture was completed after the eight stages had been meticulously gone through. In the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*[2], all these stages are enumerated, though the technical import of certain stages is difficult to understand, owing to the mutilation of the text. The following are the eight stages in painting, according to the *Samarāṇgaṇa Sūtradhāra* :—

(1) *Vartikā.*—It apparently means the use of pencil for first sketches. The nature and composition of such pencils have been already described.

(2) *Bhūmibandhana.*—Preparation of the ground. In the terminology of the Mughal painters, this process is known as *zamīn bāndhnā.*

(3—4) Then two further stages, *lekhya* and *rekhā-karma*, are mentioned, and they seem to be analogous to the *ākārajanikārekhā* and *ākāramātṛikā-rekhā*, the *butbāndhanā* " rapid sketching ", and *ṭipāī*, " correct drawing ", in the terminology of the Mughal painters.

(5) *Karshakarma.*—It probably means the drawing of correct details and seems to be the same as *sachchī ṭipāi*, in the terminology of the Mughal painters.

(6) *Vartanākrama.*—Light and shade and modelling.

(7) *Lekhanam.*—Drawing ; apparently final outline is meant.

(8) *Dvichakarma (?)* Apparently, the text is wrong and it is difficult to assign any meaning to it.

A better description of the technical processes involved in painting is preserved in the *Mānasollāsa*[3], and, though it gives the technique of wall-painting, it is equally applicable to paintings on wooden panels, cloth, and palm-leaf. After the right selection of the materials for painting, the artist tries to visualise the animate and inanimate objects, forming the subject of the painting, and, after determining their proper measurements, puts them on the wall.[4] The figure drawings have to conform to *śāstric* measurements.[5] The rapid sketch was either done with the style (*tinduka*) or pencil (*vartikā*), and then the first sketch distinguishing the form (*ākāramātrikā rekhā*) was drawn without the use of colours.[6] The final sketch made (*ākārajanikā-rekhā*) with the help of the style or pencil was finished in red ochre.[7] Then colours were applied, various details painted, and light in high places (*ujjvalam pronnatasthāne*) and shade in low places were added.[8] This was done in a single colour ; white was required where there was no shadow, and in darkness black served the purpose.[9] Different colours were used for representing different types of men ; in mixed types, however, mixed colours were used[10]. Burnt conch-shell for white, vermilion, lac-dye and red ochre for different shades of red, orpiment for yellow, and lampblack for black, are mentioned as primary colours ;[11] various

2. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, II, p. 253, ss. 13—15.
3. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 149—157.
4. *Ib.*, s. 149.
5. *Ib.*, s. 150.
6. *Ib.*, s. 151.
7. *Ib.*, s. 152.
8. *Ib.*, s. 153.
9. *Ib.*, s. 154.
10. *Ib.*, s. 155.
11. *Ib.*, s. 156.

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other shades being obtained by admixture[12]. A rule is set that, while painting birds and beasts, such as antelope, dappled deer, *sārdūla*, peacock and patridges, their appropriate body colours should be used[13]. In the representations of inanimate objects, such as trees, hills, clothes, etc., only their true colours should be used[14]. In applying the colours, the painters resorted to colour contrasts. Thus, orpiment and red ochre, contrasted with pink (*gauravarṇa*) and indigo, brought the latter into prominence. Similarly, the darker shades of blue around indigo increased its beauty[15]. The thinness and thickness of the wayward lines and superfluous colour dots (*pāṇḍuram vindujātam*) appearing on the painting were removed with the sharp edge of a knife. These corrections, however, could be effected so long as colours were not applied[16]. By the light handling of the brush which did not split the burnt conchshell white (plaster ?), the lines of hair on the body (*romarājim*) and various other white lines were drawn[17]. Then gold was used to paint golden ornaments[18]. Next the artist represented armpit shadows in lampblack and added ornaments, clothes, flowers, garlands and the lipstick paint on the lips.[19] In the end, the final outline was done in lac-dye and the painting was ready.

In the *Silparatna*[20], a somewhat detailed description of light and shade is given. It is said that, in lighting and shading, a thick brush should be used[21]. In the application of any colour, darkness is obtained by the thickness of the paint and the lightness by thinness, and this feature is common to all colours[22]. Coming to the final outlining, the *Silparatna* lays down the rule that, where there is white, yellow, blue or red, the outline should be drawn in lampblack with a thin brush[23].

An old folio in Gujarātī in the possession of Muni Puṇyavijayajī gives an interesting account of the different colours used in the final outlines of the figures[24]. Thus, the formula prescribes lampblack and orpiment for outlining the figures in parrot green; for indigo and ultramarine blue, zinc-white; for pink and rose, lac-dye; for gold, lampblack, and for shellac red, lampblack and zinc-white. From the examination of Western Indian miniatures of the paper period, it is evident that the instructions given above were actually at times used. This outlining in contrasting colours was necessary to bring out the effects of the different body colours used in Western Indian painting.

The importance given to shading in the *Mānasollāsa* and *Silparatna* is fully supported by the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* which recognizes three ways of shading,

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12. *Mānasollāsa*, ss. 158—164.
13. *Ib.*, s. 165.
14. *Ib.*, s. 166.
15. *Ib.*, ss. 167—168.
16. *Ib.*, ss. 168–169.
17. *Ib.*, s. 170.
18. *Ib.*, s. 176.
19. *Ib.*, s. 178–179.
20. *Chitralakshaṇa*, ss. 112—115.
21. *Ib.*, s. 112.
22. *Ib.*, s. 114.
23. *Ib.*, s. 115.
24. *Atha āleshaṇī vidhilishyate, popataraṅge sāīnī āleshaṇī tathā haratāla nī reshaṇī. āsmānī raṅge sapedānī reshaṇī. gore raṅge ālatāni reshaṇī. gulābī raṅge ālatānī reshaṇī abaja raṅge sapedānī reshaṇī. ākāsī raṅge sapedānī reshaṇi. sonā range sāīnī reshaṇī. lākhī raṅge sāī tathā sapedānī reshaṇī. reshaṇī samāptā.*

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Fig. 138

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viz., *patrā*, *hairikā* (and not *Āhāivikā* as suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy) and *bindujā*, "Leaf," "Hatching", and "Dotted". Defining them, the *Vishṇudharmottara* says, "The leaf-shading is done with lines (*patravartanā*), like those of a leaf; that which is faint (*sūkshmā*) is *hairika vartanā*; while that done with an upright brush is dot-shading." Discussing *vartanā* Dr. Coomaraswamy observes: "There can be scarcely any doubt that *vartanā* means shading, not of course shading intended to reproduce effects of light and shade, but that kind of shading of receding areas which produces an effect of roundness or relief, and is actually to be seen at Ajaṇṭā (where the use of highlights on projecting areas is also met with) and still survives in a limited way in the early Râjpūt paintings. Now as to the kind of shading, I cannot find the use of lines (*rekhā*) at Ajaṇṭā but it is common in Pahāṛī paintings where grassy surfaces are represented. The dotted shading (*bindujā*) is constantly found in early Râjpūt painting, where it is used to indicate armpit shadow. The faint or subtle shading designated by *āhāirikā* or *āhāivikā* (*airikā* in the Kramrisch version is certainly mistaken) etymologically inscrutable, can only logically refer to a wash or tone such as is constantly used at Ajaṇṭā to create the relief effect, and survives to a small degree in Râjpūt painting."[25] The correct reading of *gairika vartanā* in the printed edition of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, and its emendations suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy and Dr. Stella Kramrisch, is, however, *hairika*, as I have found out from an ancient manuscript of the *Vishṇudharmottara* in the Sarasvati Bhawan, Benares. If the reading is correct, then *hairika-vartanā* means shading by hatching.

In Western Indian painting, however, the above mentioned methods of shading are non-existent, though in the palm-leaf period, attempt at modelling by thickening the outline, is seen. As observed by Prof. Norman Brown [26], attempts have also been made at shading by using colour washes. This kind of shading, however, does not attempt to produce the effects of roundness or relief, but slightly models the limbs where it is applied. In the paper period, however, even this rudimentary shading is absent and the drawing takes a pure linear form.

We have seen that the medieval texts on Indian painting have preserved detailed descriptions of various technical processes involved in painting, and that they all aim at careful execution. It may be, however, remarked that, while following some of the injunctions of these learned treatises in the matters of drawing first sketches, preparation of colours and ground, etc., the painters were evolving a popular technique of their own, which abhorred modelling or shading, eschewed details and tried to simplify lines. In the paper period, the horizon of the painters seems to have extended, perhaps, by the indirect influence of Persian art, and more complicated compositions are the result, but there does not seem to be any technical advancement, except in the careful border decorations and the use of gold and ultramarine.

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25. *Chitralakshaṇa*, p. 18.

26. *J.I.S.O.A.*, V, p. 8.

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From the study of the illustrated palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, the following points of technique emerge : As a first step in painting, the ground in the reserved panels was painted in vermilion in the case of palm-leaf, and covered with gold or gold-leaf in the case of paper. After the major parts of the foreground and background were painted in red, care was taken to apply colours to the figures in such a way that their golden body-colour was always exposed to view. In later miniatures on paper, sometimes yellow was applied in place of gold and the red background was replaced by ultramarine. Then the outline distinguishing the limbs was added in black or any other colour. As the result of this convention, the faces of men and women, their garments and floral decoration, all appear to be painted in gold. A minute observation from one side reveals that sometimes the nose was painted red. After this, ultramarine was applied to garments and other parts where it was required. Likewise, in the palm-leaf period, colour washes were applied sometimes as an effort towards modelling. Blank spaces were left at times intentionally, but often they appear as a result of the flaking of gold-leaf, which was used invariably to represent the monastic garments. Besides the four colours mentioned above, a deep indigo blue is seen in old palm-leaf manuscripts.

The folios of the elaborately painted manuscripts were decorated with patterns drawn from architecture and nature. The figures of birds and beasts, dancers in various attitudes, elaborate arabesque and other floral designs, eight auspicious symbols, and at times scenes adopted from Persian miniatures, were favourite motifs for decoration.

After the establishment of the Mughal school, however, the indigenous technique in painting was greatly improved and gradually the aristocratic phase of Western Indian art was submerged into the general current of Mughal art. Its folk expression, however, survived, though its technique was greatly modified in Rājpūt and later Gujarātī painting. A study of this phase of Western Indian painting, properly speaking, belongs to the sphere of Rājpūt and Mughal arts. But as Western Indian school continued to flourish even in this period, it would not be out of place here to give a brief description of the changed technique.

In Mughal painting, after the paper has been burnished, the painter starts the work with fresh mind. If he is to paint an imaginary subject, he meditates upon every detail of the subject, and, after everything is clear to him, he begins sketching rapidly (*but-bāndhnā*) with a charred pointed twig of the *arhar* plant. At this stage, the sketch gives the impression of the objects sketched, though their likeness may not be exact. In making a copy of the original, the painter has either the original before him or has recourse to tracing.

In the second stage, the painter very carefully distinguishes the details of various figures. The colour with which the outline is done is called *likṭī* or *ābrang*, a mixture of the lampblack and carmine. After this, he draws the correct outline. At this stage,

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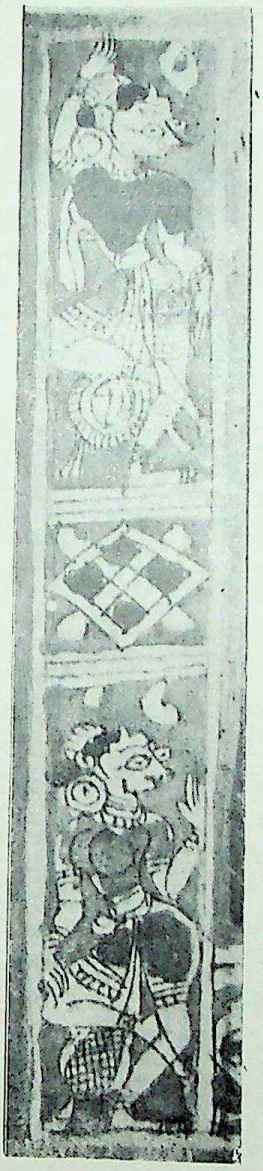

Fig. 139

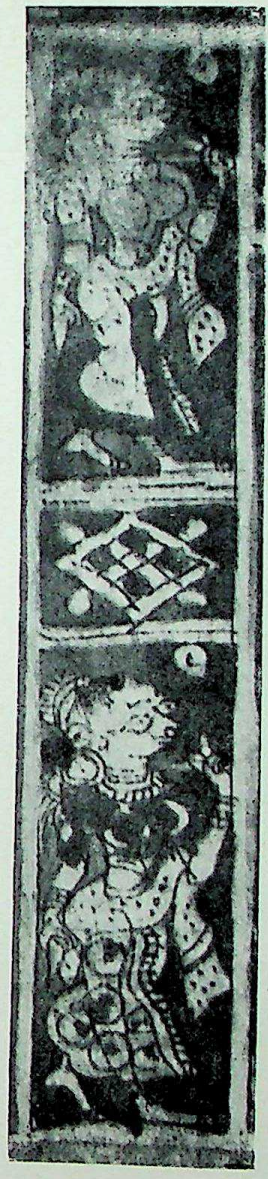

Fig. 140

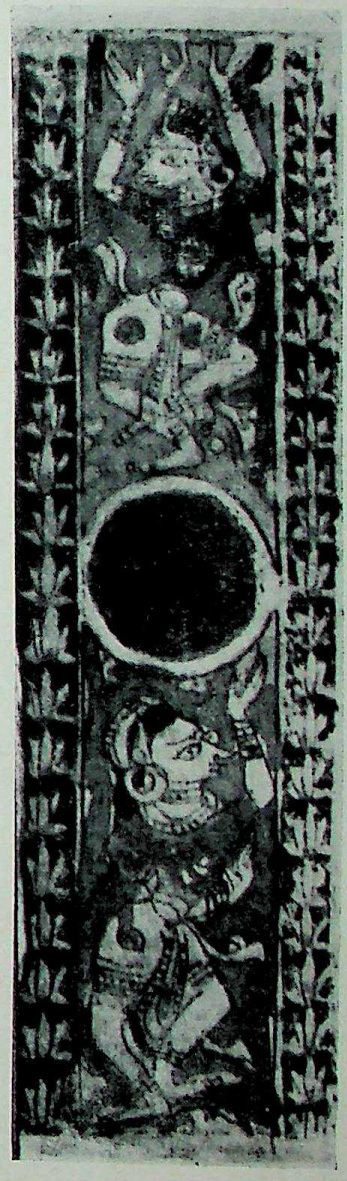

Fig. 141

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the painting is covered with a thin coating of the zinc-white which serves the double purpose of covering the corrected lines and filling the tissues and pores of the paper, making it smooth and impervious to the effect of liquid colours. The outlines are slightly visible through this opaque coating, and with their help the final drawing (*siyāh qalam*) is made. When this process is over, the reverse is burnished by turning the drawing on a plate glass or well polished marble slab with an agate burnisher which imparts an even and mellowed glaze to the surface. After this, the painter begins applying different colours to the drawing. After every colour coating, the painting is reversed and burnished. The process is repeated several times. If the colours overlap one another, the artist redraws the outline. Thick colour coatings are never applied, as they are prone to flake. Thin colour coatings impart to the painting an enamel-like effect. While repeating the light coatings, it is necessary that one coating is perfectly dry before the next one is applied.

The painter first applies proper colours in the background and foreground. Then, he applies body-colours, for which, cinnabar, red lead, red ochre and the Indian red mixed with the *peorī* or yellow ochre and zinc-white are used. After this, proper colours are applied to clothing and other articles, and finally gold is applied where required.

Thin colour washes are applied rapidly. If the same colour is to be applied at more than one place, its tone should be deepened or a little changed by the addition of another colour. It is also considered wise to apply different colours in such a way that the shade of one colour should blend entirely with the other; there should not be any sharp blending. To differentiate different colour surfaces, boundary lines are drawn.

There are times when, in spite of all precautions, the defects of lightness and uneven distribution appear in the colours. To remove these defects, a light solution of the same colour is prepared, and the part where it is to be applied is wetted with water and the solution applied over it with light hand. Sometimes, due to the carelessness of the painter, undesired colours are applied. In such case, colours are removed with a wet brush repeatedly washed in water.

In the end, the final outline is drawn, pearls in the ornaments painted and lac-dye applied to the feet and lips.

REPRESENTATION OF THE HUMAN FIGURE

Conforming to an ideal of beauty idolised in ancient Indian literature, the human figure dominates Indian painting. The man in Indian art has always a frail and mobile form of a youth. An elegant profile, little body without muscular development, large shoulders, delicate waist, and the lion-like stature constitute the idealised canon of physical beauty. The female form is characterised by its full sensuous development. The heavy swelling breasts simulating full rounded form of a water-pot, well moulded

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haunches, the slender waist gracefully poising the torso, the eyes comparable to the lotus-petal or fish with the black pupils alight with *joie de vivre* and terminating in long eyelashes, and the majestic gait of an elephant are some of the physical characteristics of women, which appealed greatly to the æsthetic sense of the Indians, and formed an idealised convention for their representation in ancient Indian paintings of Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh and Sittannavāsal.

Indian art, however, would have lost most of its glory, had it confined itself entirely to the representation of these idealised types. It also knows of realistic types borrowed from life. In art, the correct representation of the human body in full view, profile, back-view, squatting or stooping are due to the knowledge of the science of foreshortening visible in variety of poses. Discreet modelling brings out the relief of the body, though, at the end of the ancient period, the linear aspect dominates the form, and the stability and repose of the human body are preferred more and more. The movement disturbing the static equilibrium of lines is not liked : it loses its surging vehemence and is transformed into serene pose. The rich and impetuous exuberance of the ancient Indian form is succeeded by an ideal of beauty ruled by the unchangeable laws of iconography and visibility. To represent the human figure in full visibility became a passion with the medieval Indian artists. To quote the *Vishṇudharmottara*, " In representing certain figures the artist should avoid to place one figure before the other,"[27] or " the indistinct, unequal and inarticulate delineation should be avoided."[28] These injunctions of the *Vishṇudharmottara* have been scrupulously observed in the spirit of artistic testament in the age following that text.

This predilection to represent the human body in full visibility resulted, in the course of many centuries, in the growth of a series of conventions. The bold foreshortening of the poses, formerly in existence, is more and more avoided, and the different parts of the body are treated as if they are fully exposed to view. The head, which the ancient art portrays under all conditions with a marked preference for the three-quarter view, in the course of time, changes to profile.[29]

It may be objected that the representation of a figure is in direct contradiction with the principle of full visibility, since in profile one side of the face remains invisible. But the full-view and the three-quarter view also suffer from this defect of incompleteness, because they also cannot render the individual contour of the face. The Indian artist had to make his choice among these attitudes. He had to sacrifice the outline of the head or give up the representation of one eye. He adopted the latter course. Due to these conventions which fettered originality, the human figures in medieval Western Indian painting have an air of detachment, and congealed in their poses they have a doll-like appearance.

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27. *Vishṇudharmottara*, Part III, tr. by Stella Kramrisch, p. 55.
28. *Ib.*, p. 46.
29. Stchoukine, *La peinture Indienne*, p. 104.

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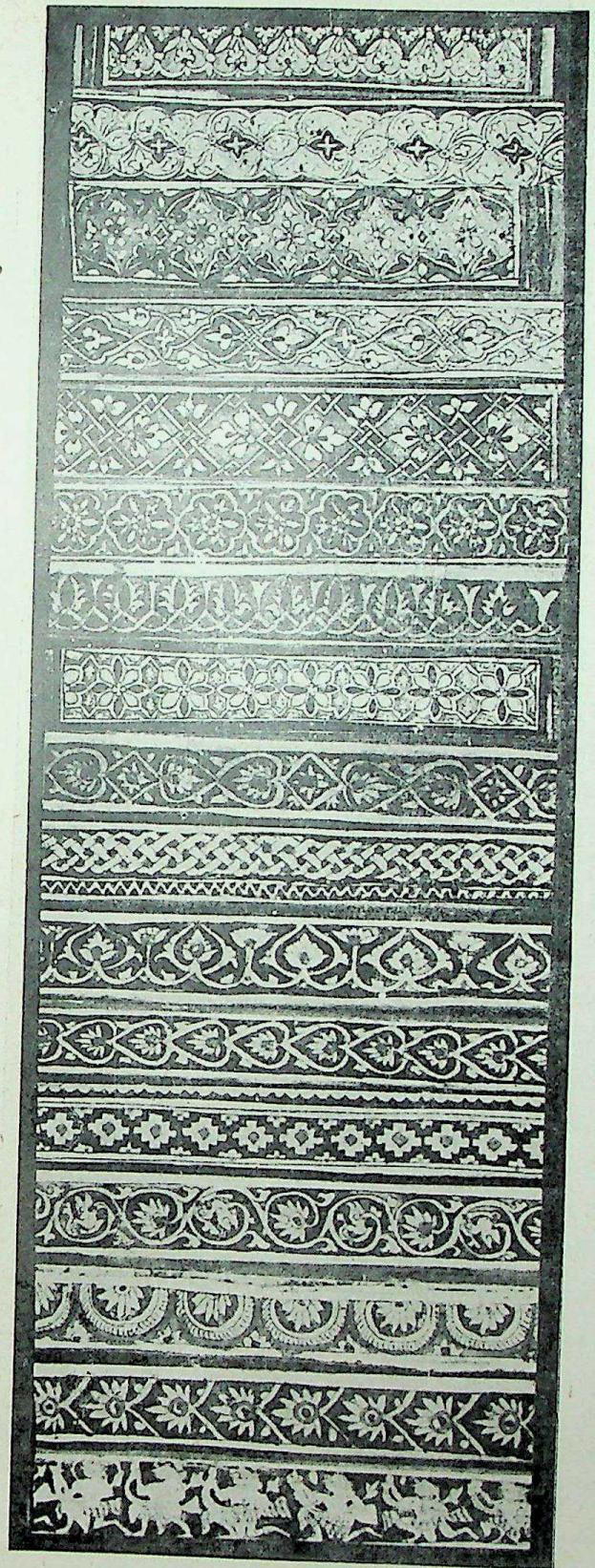

Fig. 142

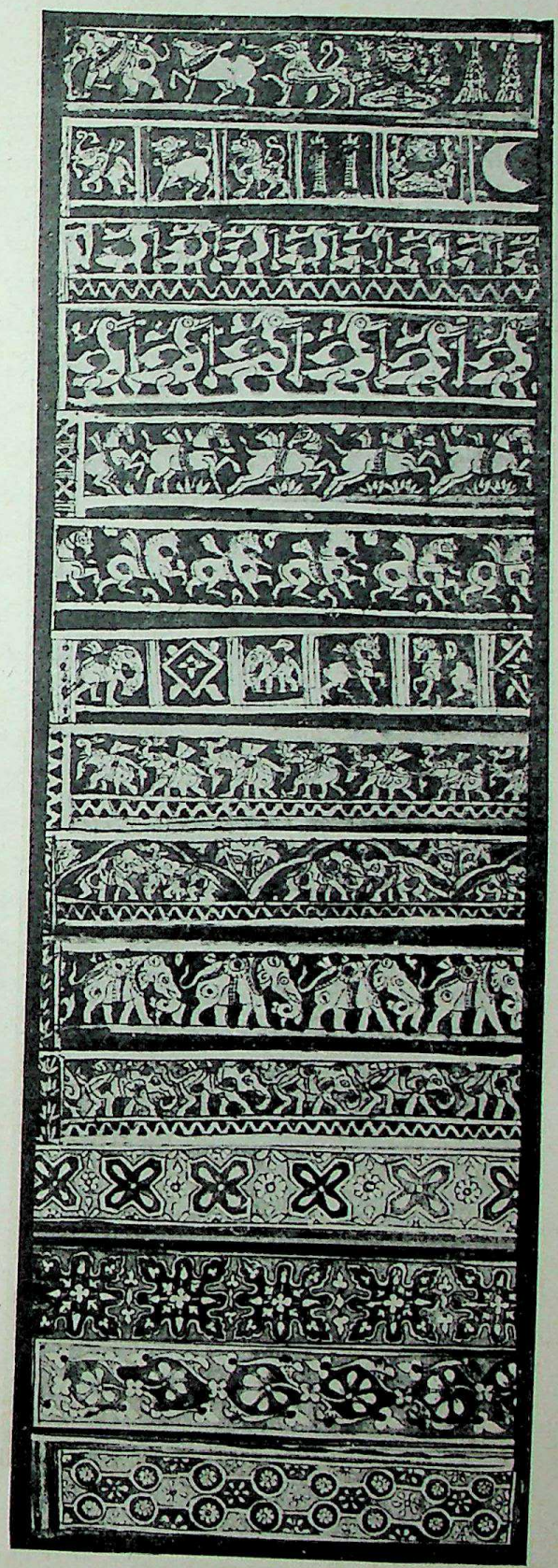

Fig. 143

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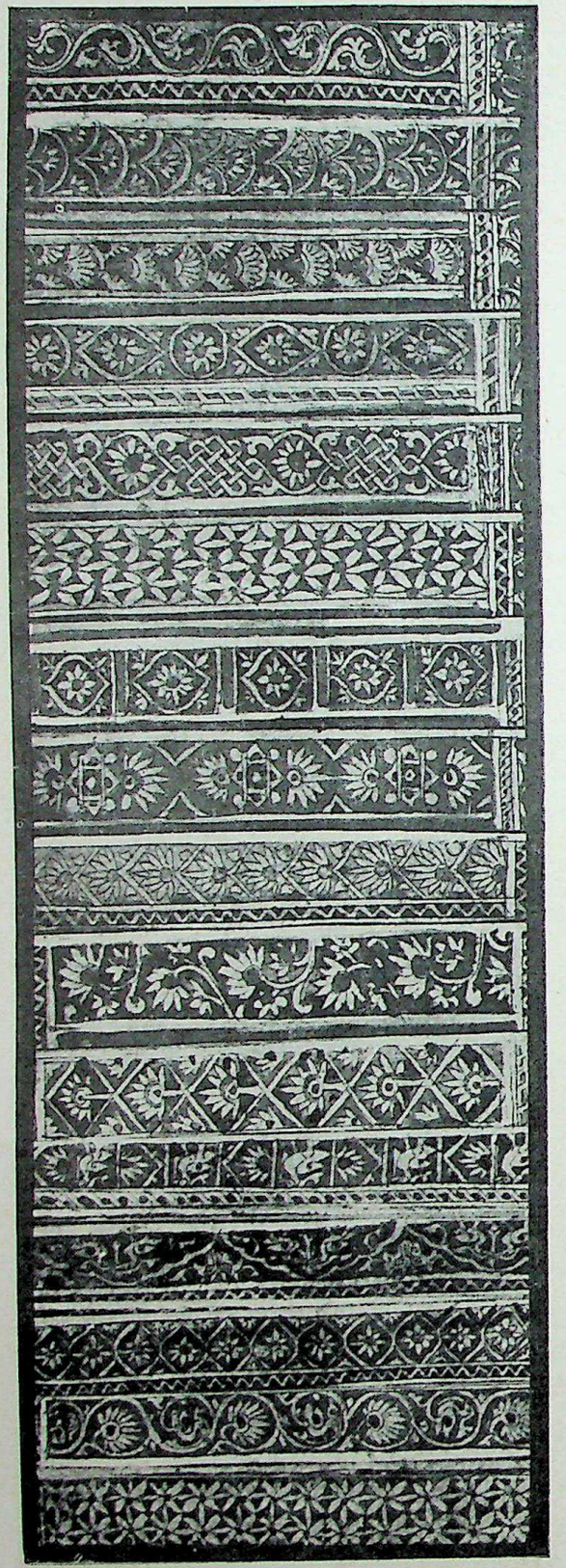

Fig. 144

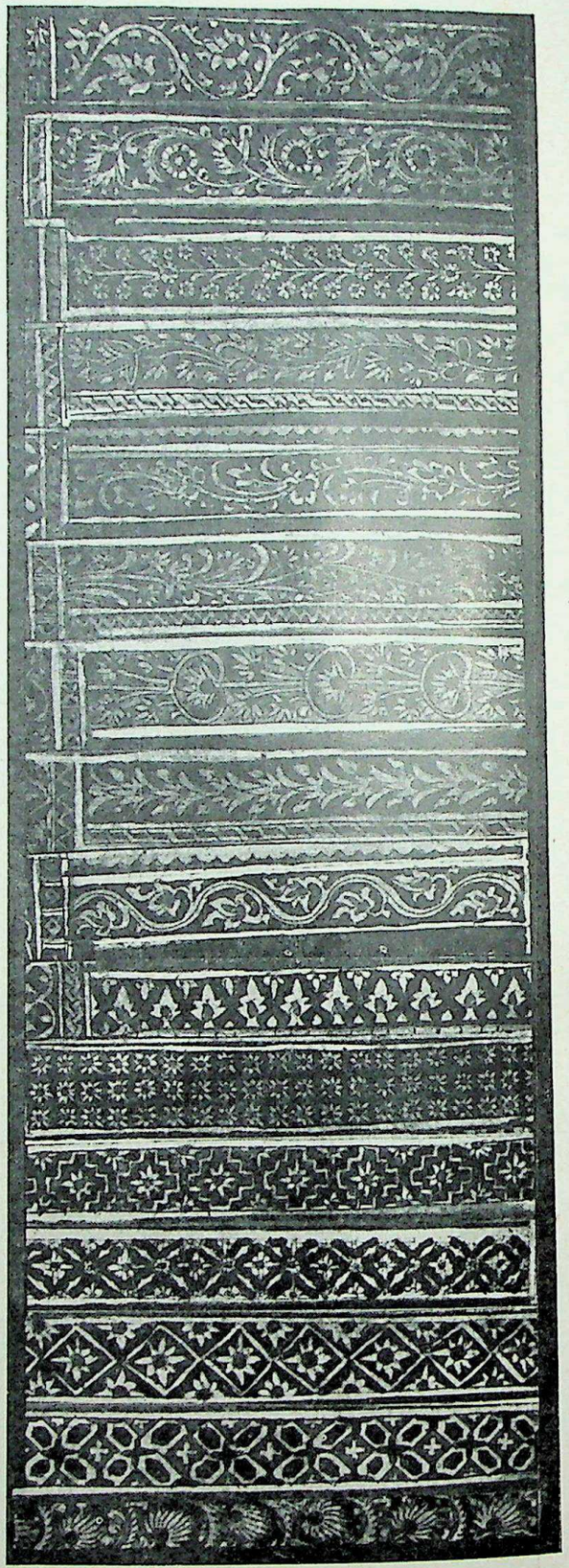

Fig. 145

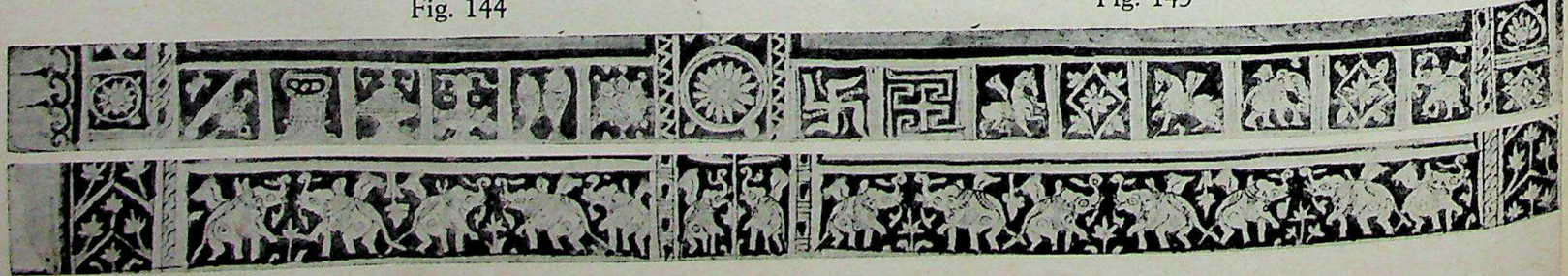

Fig. 146

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An analogous process is revealed in medieval sculptures in which the poses of the figures, formerly free, become rigid in the course of a few centuries and take to frontal aspect which correspond to the profile in painting. As the superb sculptures of Ellura, in the course of a few centuries, were metamorphosed in the static figures of the temples of Orissa and Mount Abu, similarly the human figures in the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā transformed themselves in the illustrated manuscripts from Western India. It is possible that this change in character was due to the tendencies of Western Indian school which laid emphasis on the linear aspect of art.

The human figure in Western Indian school, in spite of the angularities in the treatment of the limbs, conserves the vestiges of the idealised form of the classical Indian beauty. The man still imitates the stature of a lion with his large chest and narrow waist, and the woman continues to imitate the torso in the form of an hour-glass with swelling breasts, narrow waist and well arched robust hips. Excessively large heads, measuring about one-fifth of the total height of the body, represented habitually in 'profile perdue', an attitude which rendered one eye less visible, is the vestige of a convention appearing at the end of the classical period. Careful of not hiding any detail of his model, the Western Indian artist represents this eye projecting into space beyond the facial line. In the palm-leaf period, this projecting tendency is less marked, but, in the paper period, it becomes a full fledged convention. The eyes are of two types, sometimes exceedingly long and narrow, and sometimes very small or very large. The pupils in the first case are represented by a circle and a point, and in the second case, by a black spot. The displacement of the pupils, that one may observe sometimes, denotes the desire of the artist to render the direction of the look. The eyebrows are very long and often reach the ears. The primitive character of these eyes stands in contrast with the treatment of the eyes in Ajaṇṭā frescoes, in which they are so beautifully rendered that one may regard them to be the outcome of some different tradition.[30]

One of the outstanding features of both male and female figures in Western Indian painting is the protuberance of the farther eyes beyond the facial line into space. Mr. Ajit Ghose[31] attributes this phenomenon to the artist's desire to show that he was painting something flat, though his aim was plastic. Dr. Norman Brown[32] advances the theory that this phenomenon is the direct result of copying the Śvetāmbara images putting on glass-eyes which extend beyond the natural eyes to a distance of a half-inch or more, and such images, if viewed from an angle, show the farther eyes protruding into space beyond the line of the cheek. Dr. Coomaraswamy's objection that this phenomenon also occurs in the contemporary Vaishṇava miniatures and in the wall-paintings of the Kailāsanāth Temple at Ellura, is not taken seriously by Dr. Norman Brown as, in his opinion, no direct contact could be established between the

30. Stchoukine, *La peinture Indienne* pp. 105–107.
31. *Artibus Asiae*, 1929, pp. 188 ff; pp. 278 ff.
32. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, pp. 16–17.

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wall-paintings of the 9th century and the miniatures of the 15th century, and as in the Kailāsanāth Temple wall-paintings the painter probably intended to represent the eyelashes in the protrusion. It would be interesting in this connection to make further enquiries into the tradition of the protuberance of the farther eyes.

Going back to Ajaṇṭā, we find that the human face is represented in three-quarter view, *i.e.*, one side of the face is fully represented, while two-thirds or three-quarters of the other side is usually represented. This was a well established convention in the art of Ajaṇṭā, but with the decadence of art we find in the later paintings of Cave Nos.I—II at Ajaṇṭā the development of a new tendency in which, though the three-quarter view is maintained, some changes are effected by representing the farther cheek somewhat lesser than the three-quarter part, with the result that the forehead, the nose and the chin remained in the same position as in the three-quarter view of the earlier paintings, but, with the pinching of the farther cheek, the farther eye began to protrude beyond the facial line till a stage is reached when this feature is conventionalised in Western Indian painting.

Coming to the wall-paintings of the Kailāsanāth Temple (8th century), and Ganesa Lena (8th to 11th century), and Indra Sabhā (10th century), constituting the Jain Group of temples,[33] we find that the three-quarter view of Ajaṇṭā paintings has been modified. The pinching of the farther cheek has been carried a step further, with the result that it practically disappears, only the part near the nose being shown. In majority of cases the farther eye does not protrude into space, but there are occasions [34] (Fig. 6) when the convention appears clearly. This convention at Ellura may be described thus : The representation of one side of the face is in profile, while the convention of the three-quarter view is maintained on the other side in the representation of the farther forehead, including the eye-brow and a part of the chin.

This convention seems to have gained a firm foothold in the twelfth century, as is evident from the painted ceiling of a *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Madanpur [35] datable betwen 1130—1165 A.D. The interest of these paintings lies in the fact that they have the same characteristics, such as the pointed nose, the farther eye protruding into space and the angularity in drawing [36] (Fig. 8), as in Western Indian school.

In the earliest miniatures on palm-leaf and wooden panels as the *Jñātāsūtra* (A.D. 1127) and three other *Angasūtras* (Figs. 15–16), the tendency of the farther eye to protrude into space is noticeable, but it is not yet very pronounced as in somewhat later paintings. In a manuscript containing the *Ogha Niryukti*, etc., dated 1161 A.D., there are sixteen miniatures of Vidyādevīs. Here in most cases the farther eyes are shown protruding into space, though in certain cases the delineation of the farther

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33. *Ann. Rep. Arch. Dept. H. E. H. Nizam's Dom.* 1927–28, p. 20.
34. *Ib.*, Pl. D. & F.
35. *J. I. O. S. A.*, VII, p. 175.
36. *Ib.*, Pls. XVII, XVIII.

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Fig. 147

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cheeks controls the protrusion (Figs. 17—42). In an illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvīracharita* (Figs. 43—45), dated 1237 A.D., though there is a lapse of more than hundred years, the art conventions have not undergone any change. The tendency of the farther eye to protrude into space is, however, more pronounced, but it is controlled by the representation of a part of the farther cheek which acts as a rest, as it were, for the protruding eye. But further we proceed, the tendency becomes more and more prominent till the farther eye protruding into space without any support becomes an outstanding feature of Western Indian painting.

From the history of the development of the convention of protruding eyes, it is apparent that there was a sort of struggle between the old convention of three-quarter view and the new convention leaning towards profile, and gradually the latter was ousting the former. The rigid convention of three-quarter view was of much older standing to be eliminated all of a sudden, and, therefore, as an unconscious compromise between the old and the new, the painters allowed to remain in the new convention the representation of a part of the farther forehead and the eye which protrudes into space, owing to the pinching of the cheek. How far the ancient convention of three-quarter view has degenerated towards profile in Western Indian painting can be judged by the simple method of drawing a line from the middle of the forehead to the chin of a human figure. It will be seen then that, except for the farther eye and the portion of the forehead, the head is in profile. In later Western Indian paintings even the length of the farther forehead diminishes, and only the farther eye protruding into space remains to tell the origin of this view from three-quarter view.

In this connection, we may revert to Dr. Norman Brown's theory which attributes the protuberance of the farther eye to painters copying the Śvetāmbara Jain images putting on additional glass-eyes which, viewed from the side, showed that the farther eye protrudes beyond the line of the cheek into space. This is quite an ingenious explanation of the phenomenon, but there are a few serious obstacles in the way of accepting his theory. It has been pointed out above that this phenomenon occurs in more or less degree in Indian wall-paintings from the 7th century to the 12th, and, if we accept Dr. Norman Brown's theory, we will have to assume that the Hindū and Buddhist idols, in common with the medieval Śvetāmbara Jain images, wore glass-eyes—an assumption for which there is no proof. As a matter of fact, the wearing of glass-eye or *netra*, as it is called, could not claim great antiquity. At least, we have not come across any reference to glass-eyes as a part of an idol in medieval Sanskrit texts on iconography. It is remarkable, however, that during the Mughal period or a little earlier such kind of decoration seems to have come into vogue, and not only the Jain but also the Vaishṇavite images of the Vallabhāchārya sect of that period were decorated with the enamelled silver eyes. The practice continues even today. It is probable that this hideous invention was made with a view to impart æsthetic beauty to otherwise dull and commonplace images of the Mughal period. As I have said before, the reason

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for such a deformity is not to be sought in the extraneous circumstances, but in the historical development of the technique itself and I hope, I have been able to advance enough proof to support my thesis. In ancient India, there was more or less an uniformity of conventions relating to the model human types, æsthetic view-point and other artistic technicalities. These conventions, after the 7th century, continued in a decadent form. As from Sanskrit, different forms of Prākṛit and Apabhramaśas, the languages of the people, were evolved, so from the old pictorial traditions, which are truly the language of the artists, sprung medieval art traditions. They have provincial peculiarities as the regional dialects, nevertheless they are derived from a common source.

The pointed nose seems to have been considered as a point of beauty by the artists of that age, as we are well aware from the contemporary literature which compares the nose with the parrot's beak. This preference for the angularity of the nose is also found in the sculptures of Orissa and Gujarāt. Hence, Western Indian miniatures also did not mind reproducing this sign of beauty.

The hands, though drawn in various attitudes, are not flexible, and the delicately poised *mudrās* of Ajaṇṭā are entirely absent.

Loyal to the tendency of showing the human body to the best advantage, Western Indian school equally emphasises all parts of the human body. It is, however, noticeable that the characteristic vigour and serene repose of the ancient figure drawing are absent.

There is no variety in the treatment of human figures in Western Indian art. Dieties, Tīrthaṁkaras, kings, warriors, monks, princes and princesses, attendants, both male and female, are represented. Among them may be noted the curious type of the old ascetic with white beard, who stays for a long time as a favourite subject with the Indian painters. It is the same with the groups of dancers and musicians which are found right from Ajaṇṭā and Ellura to the miniatures from Bīrbhūm in Bengal and numerous Mughal and Rājpūt paintings.

To sum up, the various characteristics of figure drawing in Western Indian painting we arrive to the following conclusions: The face is invariably represented in one-and-a-quarter-view; the nose juts out pointedly beyond the farther cheek and reminds us of a parrot's beak; the chin, in proportion of the face, is smaller and removed farther from the high cheek bones; the *paḍol*-shaped eyes, represented in close proximity, have their ends lengthened, and their pupils are very much smaller in their proportions; the farther eye protruding into space has the appearance of being attached separately; the chest is exaggerated; the attitudes and *mudrās* are contorted; the animals and birds have a doll-like appearance; comparatively, few colours with the predominance of red and yellow have been used, and the final outlining has been done in the lampblack and is so sharp as to give an impression of being drawn with a steel pen, as it were; in the mediocre works, the drawing is generally weak.

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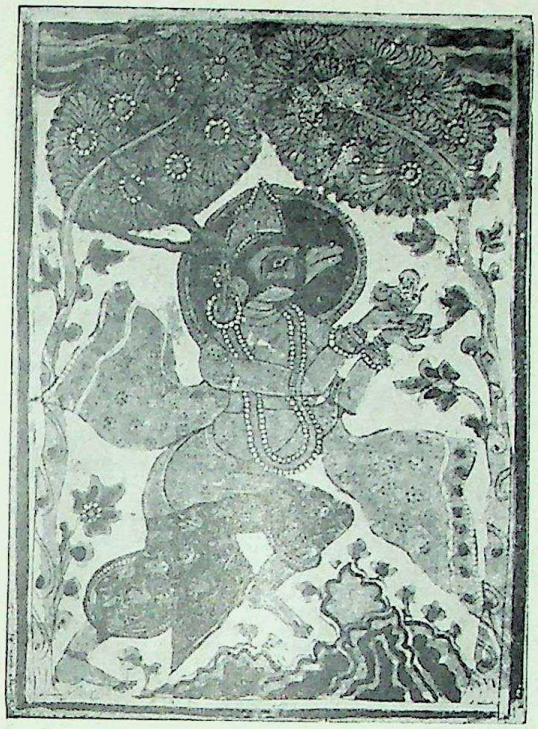

Fig. 148

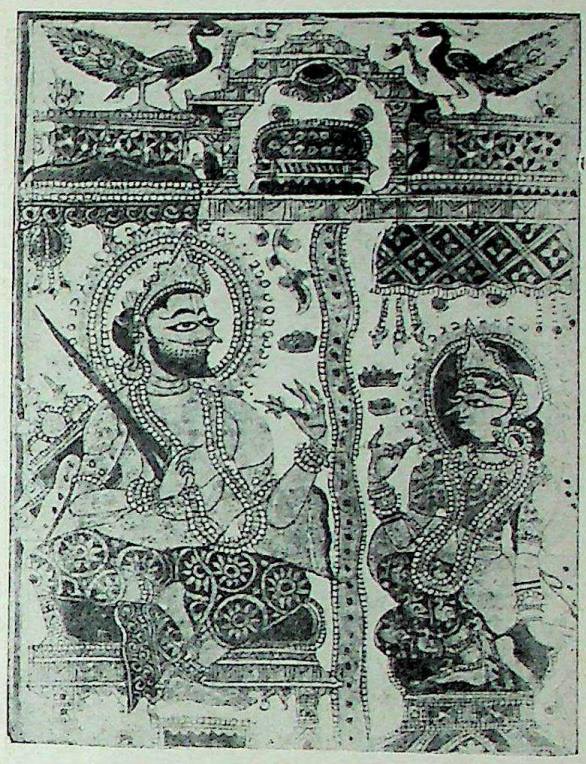

Fig. 149

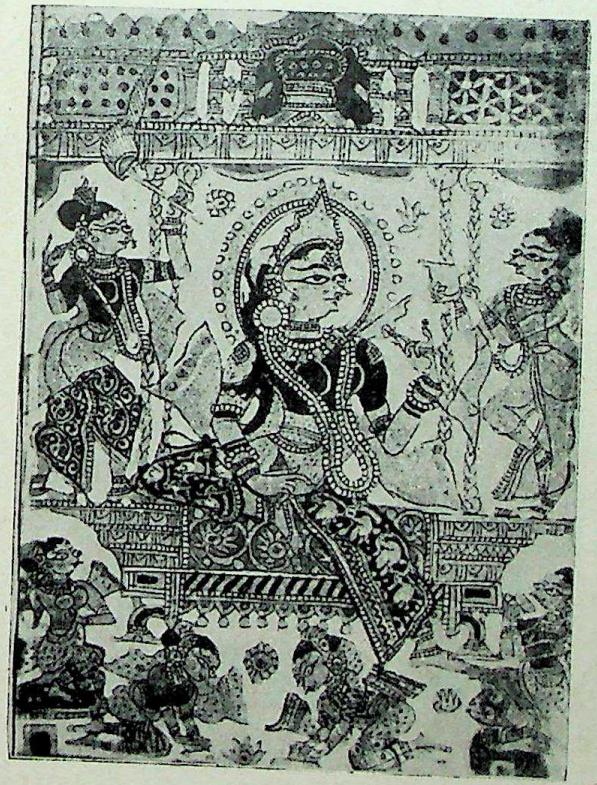

Fig. 150

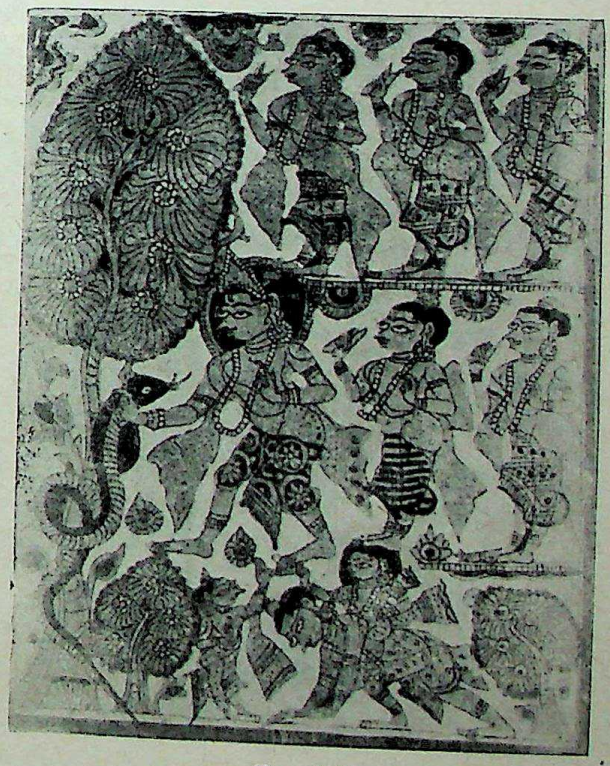

Fig. 151

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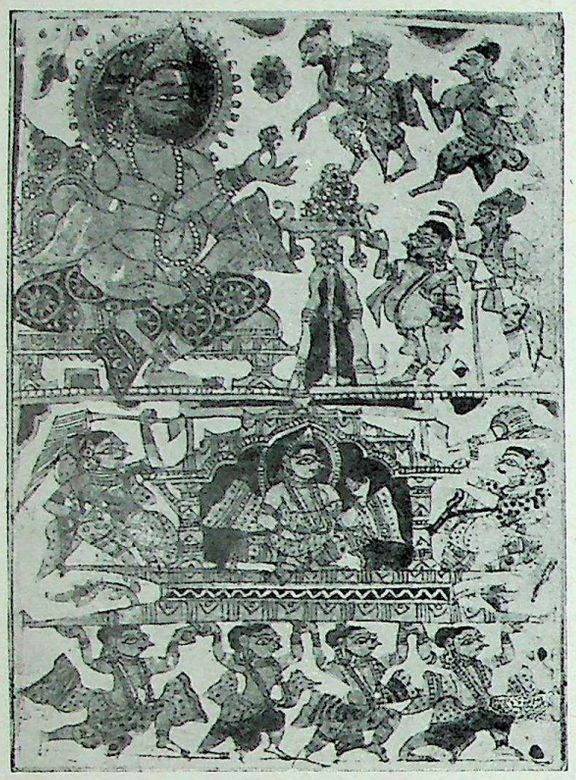

Fig. 152

Fig. 153

Fig. 154

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REPRESENTATION OF ANIMALS

No Indian landscape is complete without animals. The animals, according to the Hindu way of thinking, do not form a separate world as opposed to human beings. The belief in the transmigration of the soul places the animal world on the same footing as human being, though on the lower rung of the ascending scale of evolution. But, in this chain of successive existences determined by *karma*, the mineral, vegetable, animal and human existences are able to take two opposite directions ; the spirit of an animal could incarnate in a human body, or the human spirit could fall so low as to enter the body of a beast, or fall still lower and enter the vegetable or animal kingdom. The end of each existence is to liberate oneself from successive existences till final liberation is achieved. This theory of the close bond between the human and animal life, further strengthened by the theory of Ahimsā which became a landmark in the Buddhist and Jain teachings and resulted in the non-violability of animal life, inculcated the love and sympathetic understanding of animal life, not known elsewhere.

The anthropocentric tendency of Indian art in transferring the nature to the arena of human action brings the two entities close together. This close bond between man and beast was a great obstacle to the objective representation of the latter. But whatever Indian art loses from this, on the realistic side of animal representation, is amply made good by the keen and sympathetic study of animal life.

The representation of animal life occupies an important place in the ancient Indian art. In the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā, a number of animals are represented with such a keen insight for their life and movement that they stand even to this day as a testimony to the great skill of the artists of Ajaṇṭā. The variety and the spontaneous execution of the animal figures are so natural that they rule out the application of hidebound formulas. It is evident that at Ajaṇṭā animal drawings were inspired directly from the models, and not from the animal chart or memory drawings as was a common practice in later times. The elephant is a favourite animal with the painters of Ajaṇṭā, and in no art of the world it has been represented with such sympathetic understanding. The elephant at Ajaṇṭā is not the ferocious brute of the African forests, but a gentle animal nurtured in the stables of a king. Even if he is represented in the wild state, he is not devoid of gentleness and humour. Monkeys[37] are represented with a keen sense of observation, and the antelopes[38] have the same grace and nimbleness with which they are characterised in Sanskrit literature. The representation of the bulls[39] shows how closely their habits were observed by the painters ; the lion[40] and the horse[41] are also represented in a realistic manner. The bird drawing does not seem to have been favourite with the painters, only the geese are the favourite birds of Ajaṇṭā painting.

37. Herringham, *Ajaṇṭā*, Pl. XI.
38. *Ib.*, Pl. VIII.
39. *Bagh Caves*, Pl. XVIII.
40. *Ib.*, Pl. XX.
41. Herringham, *Ajaṇṭā*, Pl. XI.

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They may be seen disporting in the decorative floral scroll[42], or flying in the air,[43] or associated with the palaces.

In the ancient treatises on painting, animals are often associated with the landscape. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the pictures of the six seasons have birds and animals as their indispensable attributes.[44] The same work recommends to paint the sky swarming with birds, the forest crowded with animals and birds, and the water with fish and tortoise.[45] The *Mānasollāsa* is the first technical text on painting, which gives elaborate description of the body measurements of a horse[46] and an elephant.[47] Fed up with such elaborate discussions the author concludes : " Innumerable are the beings which could not be described. The intelligent artist should paint them according to their forms. Their realistic representations should be as their reflections in a mirror."[48]

In Western Indian miniatures, however, the representations of birds and animals take a different character which represents the triumph of convention over realism. The animals are treated generally in a conventional and decorative manner, though the representations of the bull, the elephant and the deer have not lost, in spite of their archaic appearance, certain beauty of movements. The elephant, invariably represented as white, retains some of its former majesty and appears bedecked and painted ready to be mounted by the king, or to be led in a procession.[49] The bull, retaining some of its former realistic character, has often an exaggerated hump and a deformed mouth.[50] The deer retain their free movement[51], and the monkey is still imbued with some of its mischievous and restless character.[52] The massive horses evoke comparison with the horses in the equestrian Mughal portraits (Figs. 80, 99.).[53] They differ from the horses represented in Persian painting at the end of the 15th century, but on the other hand they resemble the horses represented on the pottery of Rhages.[54] Horses with tapering necks and crocodile-like snouts are also found (Fig. 156),[55] and are reminiscent of the horses depicted in Persian painting of the 16th century. The tiger is treated conventionally (Fig. 155),[56] and its body is usually marked with lines to indicate the stripes. The geese seem to have been favourite with the painters of this period. They are not only seen perched on the housetops and trees, but also serve as a decorative pattern on the *sārīs*. The peacock is distinguished by the stylisation of its wings, legs and the beak elongated out of proportion (Fig. 149).[57] The parrot is distinguished

42. Herringham, *Ajaṇṭa*, Pl. XLII, 57.
43. *Ib.*, XLI, 54.
44. Stella Kramrisch, *Vishṇudharmottara*, pp. 58–59.
45. *Ib.*, p. 57.
46. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 1, 835—873.
47. *Ib.*, 874—898.
48. *Ib.*, 899–900.
49. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 1, 164.
50. *Ib.*, Fig. 164.
51. Mehta, *Gujarati painting in the 15th century*, No. 38.
52. *Ib.*, No. 77.
53. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 257.
54. Stchoukine, *loc. cit.*, p. 91.
55. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 180.
56. *Ib.* Fig. 164.
57. *Ib.* Fig. 191.

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Fig. 155

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by its bold and simple design. The serpent is treated in a realistic manner. In general, the ornamental treatment of the animals and birds tends to exaggerate, and, consequently, it eliminates the realism of the ancient school. This artistic conception of the fauna persists throughout the middle ages and even continues in the Rājpūt art of the 17th century and later.

TREATMENT OF NATURE

The love of nature is a characteristic feature of Indian mind which was capable of developing the highest thought in the quietitude of nature. The sylvan quiet of the forest where nature reigned supreme was conducive to the highest metaphysical speculations of the great Indian Seers. The sublime beauty of nature even proved a healing balm to the mind disturbed with the calamities of human life. Exiled from his kingdom and deprived of his rightful succession, Rāma found consolation at the sight of the Chitrakūṭa. With the eyes of an artist, he saw the Chitrakūṭa breaking into thousand peaks and the rocks assuming forms resplendent in the shades of gold, silver, purple and azure; their slopes appearing like a green banner aglow with golden embroidery and covered with the carpet of languishing multi-coloured flowers.[58] Again, haunted by the sorrow of separation from his wife, Rāma saw in the sombre cloud-sky, without moon and stars, the state of his own suffering mind.[59]

It is unfortunate, however, that such understanding of nature as we have described above is not found in the rare examples of Indian painting which have survived. In Ajaṇṭā painting, architecture dominates the scene, though decorative motifs have been borrowed from nature. The landscape rarely represented at Ajaṇṭā may be classified into two groups. (1) The elements which appear separately, such as trees, flowers, plants, etc., which are represented in a realistic manner. The rocks, however, are represented conventionally. (2) Their artistic groupings in the interest of the composition and perspective show that the painters at Ajaṇṭā were already acquainted with the problems of three-quarter dimension in relation to space. The architectural details are introduced to bring coherence in the groupings, and at Ajaṇṭā they may be called "architectural landscape." All these architectural details are represented, as if they were to be seen by a person from the housetop. This point of view in perspective gave liberty to the artists even to represent the details which, according to the laws of ordinary perspective, should be hidden from view.

To supplement our meagre information of the ancient Indian landscape painting we have to fall back on the various rules laid down in the *Vishṇudharmottara* for landscape painting. It lays down that in painting the traditional six seasons, the summer has to be associated with a deep pool, languid men, the deer seeking the shade of trees, and the buffaloes wallowing in mud. The rainy season has an appropriate landscape with

58. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 94.

59. *Ib.*, lv, 27.

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the sky overcast with heavy clouds through which the lightning flashes, and which are at times beautified with the rainbow. In this season, birds are shown perched on trees, and the lions and tigers are shown taking shelter in caves. The appropriate landscape for autumn has the trees heavily laden with fruits, the earth covered with ripening corn-fields, and the tanks beautified by lotuses and geese. The landscape at the approach of winter has frosty horizon, the harvested fields, and the ground wetted with dew-drops. In the winter landscape, the sky is covered with a heavy fog, men are shown shivering, while the crows and elephants are jubilant.[60] Then certain broad principles of landscape painting are laid down. The sky should be shown without any special colour, and swarming with birds. In the night, however, it should be covered with stars. The earth should be shown with the luxuriant growth of plant life. The mountain should be represented by the conglomeration of rocks, peaks, trees, waterfalls and snakes. A forest should be represented by the thick growth of various species of trees and swarming with birds and beasts. The water should be shown in conjunction with innumerable fishes, tortoises, lotus flowers and other aquatic animals and plants.[61]

In the description of the landscape above such a realism is aimed at for whose successful fulfilment extensive surface of the wall, and not the restricted surface of the palm-leaf or wooden panels, must have been required. How much of the above instructions were capable of fulfilment at the hand of the artists, and how much remained only a theory, we are unable to say in the absence of documents. But it was by no means an impossibility, looking at the great technical achievement of the artists of Ajaṇṭā. Anyway, the dream of the gorgeous landscape described above is realised to a certain extent in Rājpūt and Pahāṛī paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Symbolism in Indian art also solved many difficult problems of landscape painting. There the rivers may be represented in the form of a woman standing on her appropriate vehicle, carrying a pitcher in her hands and her knees bending ; there is the impression of a peak on the forehead of the human personification of a mountain ; the sea in human form carries a pitcher and the water replaces the halo ; the tank is represented by a pitcher.[62]

In Western Indian miniatures of the 14th century and later, the realistic tendencies of the early landscape are replaced by purely decorative conception. The monochrome red background in these miniatures leaves no place for the converging perspective. The figures are not disposed one behind the other as in the contemporary Bengali paintings of the 11th and 12th centuries, but are superimposed. The heights of the figures do not depend on the real dimensions of the subjects depicted, nor are their representations governed by the position of the objects in space, but on the importance of the

60. Stella Kramrisch, The *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, pp. 58.
61. *Ib.*, p. 57.
62. *Ib.*, p. 56.

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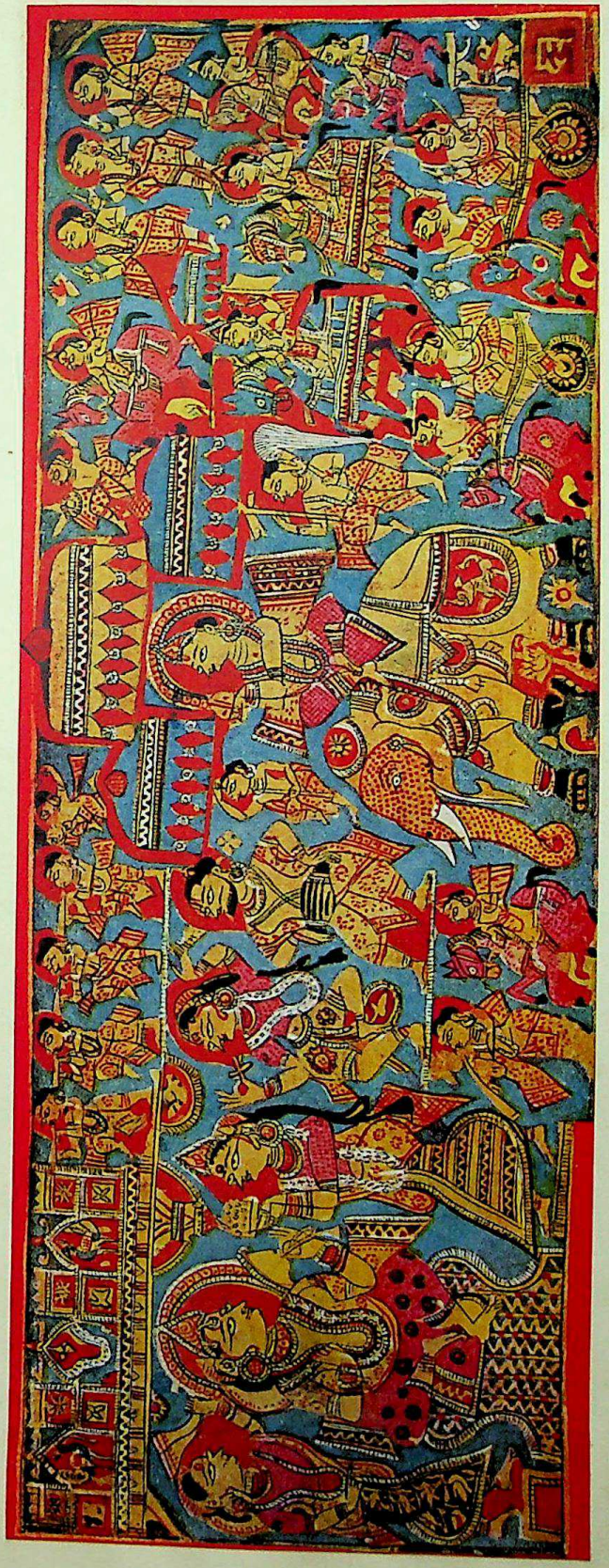

Fig. 156

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61. *Ib.*, p. 57.
62. *Ib.*, p. 56.

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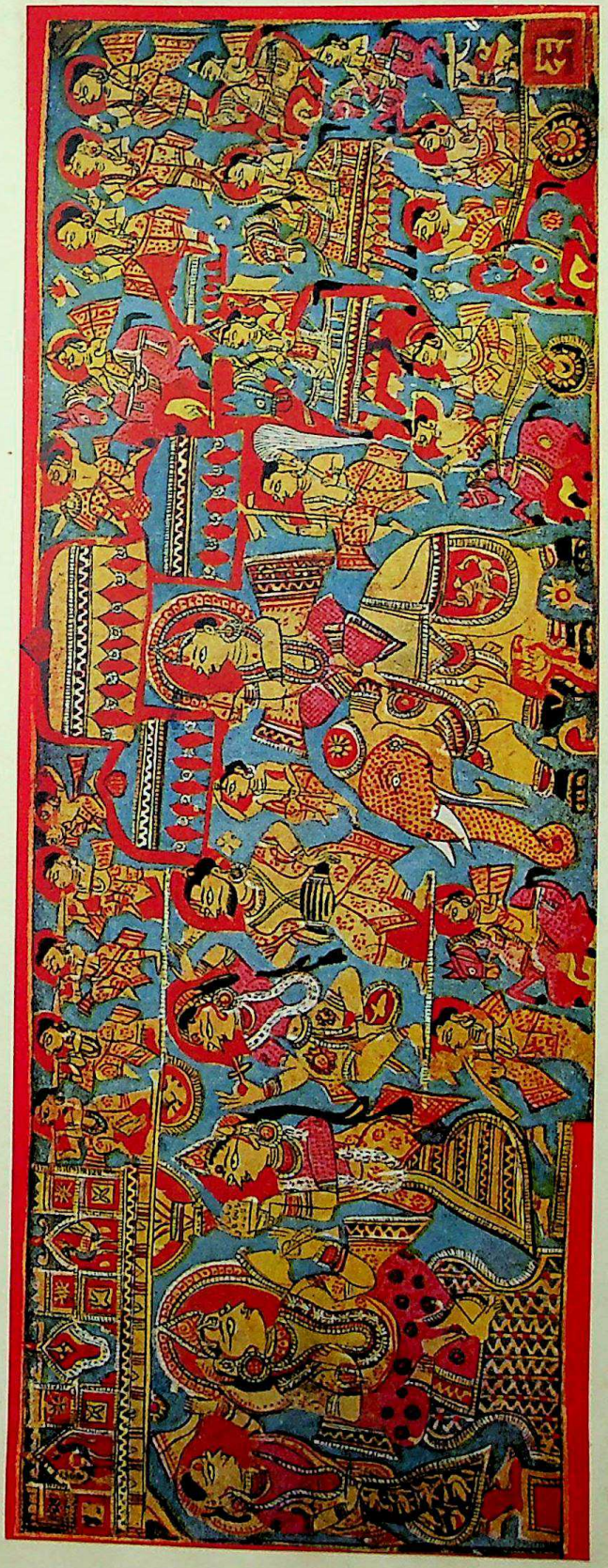

Fig. 156

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figures in the composition. Thus, the height of a man at times is greater than that of an elephant, trees or a building, because the former represents a Jina or a prince and hence his importance must be emphasised by enlarging the figure. In such a primitive and highly conventional view-point of the perspective, landscape finds little space. In the miniatures of the *Subāhu Kathā* (Figs. 51–52), we find for the first time certain elements of landscape, such as trees, birds and hills, but their treatment is conventional. In the 14th century cloth-painting of the *Panchatīrthī* (Figs. 177—185), however, blue hills edged with white and studded with trees is a definite improvement in the conventional landscape. In the fifteenth century miniatures, the following features of the landscape may be marked :—

The sky is represented by conventionally treated clouds painted on red ground. The sun and the moon are represented, the former by a gilded disc and the latter by a golden crescent. The water is represented by basket patterns, sometimes associated with aquatic birds [63] (Fig. 188) and lotus flowers or fish and other aquatic animals. [64] A series of sinuous triangles (Fig. 148), [65] or piled up arches represent the mountain. It is associated with animals, such as the deer, the tiger, the hare, etc. [67] The most artistic representation of a mountain is shown in an illustrated manuscript of the *Kālpasūtra* reproduced by Prof. Norman Brown.[68] The bright golden ball of the rising sun, encompassed with the double rim in blue and white against a red background, shines just above the variegated mountain peak. The deep shadows fill the cavities, and a solitary bird is shown flying through the mist hanging over the mountain.

In Western Indian miniatures, trees are conventionally treated. The foliage is often composed of a series of circles or bouquets. Such trees give the impression of an umbrella. Their white or gilded trunks are covered with fine sinuous lines, perhaps simulating their barks. In another type, the leaves are painted separately, their sinuous branches and trunks are very delicate, and their knots are delineated with a few curved lines [69] (Fig. 73). In the third type, the tree-top is thickly covered with indigo leaves and the flowers in the shape of rosettes and buds are picked out in red [70] The coconut (Fig. 102) [71] and the palm trees (Fig. 101)[72] and the mango [73] and the plantain trees are often represented realistically. Very vew architectural details are represented. A pair of columns suffice to represent a palace. In the *Pañchatīrthīpaṭ*, however, elaborate designs of Jain temples are given. It is quite possible that the lack of architectural details in Western Indian painting is due to the lack of space at the disposal of the artist.

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63. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 257.
64. Norman Brown, *Miniature paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, Fig. 30.
65. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 186.
66. Norman Brown, *Ib.*, Fig. 33.
67. Mehta, *Gujaratī painting in the 15th century*, No. 26.
68. Norman Brown, *Ib.*, Fig. 38.
69. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 110.
70. *Ib.*, Fig. 112.
71. Ib., Fig. 196.
72. *Ib.*, Fig. 181.
73. *Ib.*, Fig. 198.

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THE LAWS OF GROUPING AND COMPOSITION

Any study of Indian art based solely on the analytical principles is bound to remain incomplete, if the basic principles which give it permanent values are ignored. Once the analysis is over the synthesis of all the consistent elements remain to be treated. In other words, this synthesis resolves itself in the study of the means employed by the Indian artists to realise unity in their works. We are thus brought to the problems of composition, line and colour.

In landscape painting as well as figure drawing, the Indian composition has an element of reality, as settled by the conventions of the time. It may look very strange to us steeped into the Western ideas of composition, but it, nevertheless, serves the purpose by maintaining an equilibrium in the composition. The wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā support our view. At the first sight, the paintings give an impression that the numerous figures appearing in the composition are disposed, without any preconceived plan, in a manner so natural that it appears almost accidental. More careful observation, however, reveals that the apparent confusion is not real, but that there is a definite order which governs the grouping of the figures.

In their efforts to be realistic, the painters of Ajaṇṭā took pains to avoid the arrangements in which direct control of the outline is too apparent. Bearing this end in view, the paintings of Ajaṇṭā avoid neatly marked primitive symmetry and immobilised groups deprived of life. The compositions at Ajaṇṭā, on the other hand, are based on the complicated arrangement in which the variety of the attitudes and groups appear to be inexhaustible. But this richness of form, instead of ending the chaotic groups hostile to all conception of unity, added more confusion. Utilised however with care, it created well-balanced composition, its unity undisturbed by the presence of various heterogeneous elements.

The ancient artists employed various ingenious means to give a convincing outlook to their composition. We are, however, not aware whether they were codified at any time. The treatises on painting in Sanskrit allot sufficient space to the conventions employed in landscape, figure drawing, stances and colours, but silently pass by the problem of linear composition. This gap could be filled up from the information we receive from the actual paintings come down to us.

Indian painters treated colours as necessary adjuncts to clever linear composition. There were five primary colours—white, yellow, red, black and blue. The trained artists could, however, attain hundred different shades by clever admixture. The white is classified according to its various degrees of luminosity : white brilliant as gold, pure sandal white, autumnal cloud white, and autumnal moon-white.[74] The varieties of *śyāma* (dark)[75] are twelve, namely, reddish, greenish, grayish, tawny, topaz, *priyaṅgu* creeper dark, monkey dark, blue lotus shade, blue of the *Nilkaṇṭha*

74. *Vishṇudharmottara*, tr. by Stella Kramrisch, p. 32. 75. *Ib.*, pp. 32–33.

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bird, purple lotus shade, and cloud gray. These dark shades were used in accordance with the colours of the objects.

This precise information about the colours in ancient Indian painting is supplemented by the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā, which have preserved numerous instances of colour harmonies to be discovered in the blending of the ivory white, the shade of autumnal clouds, the sombre shade of the purple lotus and the silvery gray of the monkey.[76]

In spite of this keen sense of perception in different colour shades, the problem of light was ignored by the artists. Instead of representing the phenomenon of light directly, they had recourse to secondary details accompanying the phenomenon capable of invoking light by association. Thus, the moonlight was expressed by the presence of the *kumuda* flower which blossoms in the night, the sunshine by the creatures suffering from heat, and the dawn mist by the rising sun, the dim lamp and the crowing cocks.[77]

After the tenth century, however, the conventions of varied composition and the representation of groups after uniform and primitive rules are almost forgotten, and in Western Indian miniatures throughout one may see, not without regret, only the traces of the classical precepts. Varieties in colour tones give place to the crudity of the contrasting colours, and the crude perspective to an alignment or the superimposition of the figures and objects, in order to show their relative distances. From this proceeds, in the composition, the division of the painted surface in a number of sections.

The composition in Western Indian miniatures shows more unity when the subject is spread out in the same plane. The superimposition then becomes useless, and the artist then can concentrate on the problem of grouping his figures. The principle which dominates in this case is that of opposition : the figures arranged in the rigorously co-ordinated poses at the extreme ends of the painting are plunged in the attitude of mutual contemplation. For instance, a man and a woman seated facing one another in the attitude conforming to such point of view should merge into one another if the painting were to be folded. This co-ordination in other cases became more complicated.

The choice of colours fortified the impression of uniformity in medieval Western Indian painting. The figures are often in yellow or gold on red background, the other objects are painted in blue, maroon, green and rose. It results in a very neat colour contrast, the gold gaining intensity on red ground and the beauty of the red is increased in the proximity of gold. Sometimes, soft and dull tones, such as pale yellow, olive green, etc., which remind of the ancient palette, are used.

DECORATIVE ORNAMENTS

The love of Indians for decorative ornaments in sculpture, architecture, painting and textiles is too well known to need emphasis. Even in the ancient Buddhist Vihāras,

76. Stchoukine, *loc. cit.*, p. 141.

77. Kramrisch, *Vishṇudharmottara*, p. 58.

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in which no human figures could be painted, the painting of such decorative patterns as wreaths, creepers, etc., was allowed to relieve the monotony of the bare walls.[78] In the bas-reliefs of Bharhut and Sānchī, the sculptor delighted in pure decorative patterns, framing the reliefs or even sculptured separately. In Ajaṇṭā paintings, we see beautiful decorative panels framing the pictures.[79] The chief decorative patterns at Ajaṇṭā are lotus rhizomes interspersed with birds and animals and water spirits. At Bāgh as well, decorative bands made up of squares decorated with birds, animals, leaves, fruits, concentric circles and the Chinese frets, serve as ceiling decoration.[80] At Ellura, in Indra Sabhā cave, fretted decorative panels were occasionally used to separate different compartments.[81] The geometrical patterns again at Indra Sabhā are the best yet seen in Indian painting.[82]

In the medieval Indian architecture, specially of Gujarāt, the wealth of decorative details is so overwhelming that it does not hesitate to sacrifice the æsthetic interest of the sculptures. In the medieval Western Indian painting of the palm-leaf period, however, the decorative patterns had to be necessarily restricted owing to the very limited surface of the palm-leaf. In the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Niśithachūrṇī*, in the Sanghavīnā Pāḍā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, written in 1100 A.D.,[83] the decorative patterns are used in square panels and represent the *pūrṇaghaṭa*, rosettes in many combinations, an elephant rider in a roundel, etc., (Figs. 13–14). The lovely lotus rhizome on the wooden panel, depicting the battle between Bharata and Bāhubalī (Figs. 201–203), clearly shows that the decorative traditions of Ajaṇṭā were not yet dead.

In the paper manuscript period of Western Indian painting, the marginal decoration has reached its zenith in some of the best manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra*. It is marvellous how the painters, who could never claim to be great artists as far as human figure and landscape were concerned, proved their merit as decorators.

In the illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Muni Hansavijayajî, written in 1465 A.D., at Jaunpur, there are seventy-six borders (Figs. 93—98). They are all distinguished by careful execution, perfect balance and beautiful colour schemes. The patterns are never repeated. It is remarkable that the painter has adopted many contemporary patterns from the coloured Islamic tiles. Floral meanders, diapers, guilloche, palmates, arabesque, flowers and leaves arranged in cloud pattern, lozenges in combination with sprigs, rosettes, knotted loops in combination with diaper, etc., are come of the motifs which show foreign influence. There are patterns, however, distinctively Indian in form and spirit. The *hamsa*-heads pecking at floral petals, rows of fish arranged decoratively, browsing does and antelopes, panels

78. *Chullavagga*, VI, 3, 2.
79. Herringham, *Ajaṇṭā*, Pl. XLII, Figs. 56–57.
80. Marshall, *Bagh Caves*, Pls. XVI—XVIII.
81. *ARAD., H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions*, 1933–34, Pl. II.
82. *Ib.*, Pl. IV, b.
83. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, I, p. 30, Pls. 12–13.

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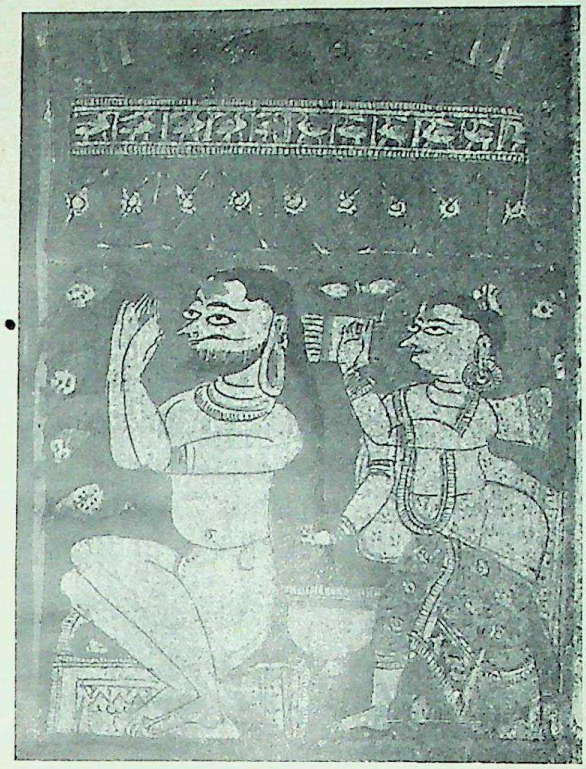

Fig. 157

Fig. 158

Fig. 159

Fig. 160

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Fig. 161

Fig. 162

Fig. 163

Fig 164

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divided into compartments showing lions, horses, peacocks and geese, rows of elephants, etc., are good examples of purely Indian decoration.

In another manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in Muni Hamsavijayā collection, datable to the beginning of the 15th century, there are many beautiful borders (Figs. 142—146), representing diapers, meanders, lozenges, pair of geese under an arcade, geese alternating with flowers, lotus flowers arranged vertically, loops, sprigs, etc.

The illustrated *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Muni Dayāvimalajī, is unparalleled on account of its border decorations. Here, in the borders, musical modes and different dance poses are used as decoration (Figs. 106—131). At one place (Fig. 136) battle scenes of Persian origin have been used as decoration.

In another *Kalpasūtra* manuscript in the collection of Sarabhai Nawab (Figs. 137 and 138), the beautiful arabesques, cones and cartouches are also copied from contemporary tiles and decorative motifs from the mosques and palaces. There are also Persian scenes.

The following patterns appear in the border decoration :—

Small flowers (*būṭī*) and large flowers (*būṭā*) serve as important decorative patterns. In the designs the flowers take the form of a diaper. Three and four petalled flowers (*tipatiā* and *chaupatiā*) are constantly used.

More elaborate designs, such as flower scrolls (*bel, baradmutān*) and rhizomes (*latar*) have been represented, the difference between the two being that in the former the design is oft repeated, while in the latter, curly sprigs spring from the curves of the meander, and the uniformity in the design is not maintained.

Half-egg (*sahresā*), guilloche (*jōkī*), four petalled flowers connected with stems and leaves, lozenge and circle (*nag-javāhir*), palmate (*pañjak*), lozenges (*sakarpārā*), curled leaves (*mārwārī*), fish scale (*sehrā*) and garland pattern (*gajrekī-bel*) have been constantly used.

Decorative patterns borrowed from architecture, such as rosette (*phullā*), floral scrolls in circles and ovaloids (*kishtī*), diapers with onion-shaped compartments filled with flowers (*bādrūn*), circles filled with arabesque (*chandā*), bent twigs with curved points (*daṇḍā, murrī*), interlaced flowers, leaves and creepers (*janglā*), etc., have also been used on an extensive scale.

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CHAPTER IV

COSTUMES AND ORNAMENTS

THE importance of Western Indian paintings does not only lie in the fact that they fill up a gap in the history of Indian painting between the wall-paintings of Ellura and the beginning of the Mughal school, but also in the fact that they throw considerable light on the life and culture of the people of Western India from the twelfth to sixteenth century. The artists, though considerably hampered in their expression owing to the restricted space of the palm-leaf, nevertheless, tried to give as many details as possible of the contemporary life, even sometimes at the cost of the composition. To quote one instance, we are aware of the ancient calico-printing industry of Gujarāt and the great demand of the printed fabrics of Gujarāt outside India from the 11th to 15th century. But beyond this scrappy information about such an important industry, we do not know anything about the technical processes involved and the favourite patterns used in this industry. All this ignorance is due to the fact that no printed calico has survived in India of this period due to climatic conditions. Happily, as we will have the occasion to refer later on, the examples of the mediaeval printed fabrics from Gujarāt preserved in the sand covered ruins of Fustāt, in the suburbs of Cairo, tell us a lot about the technical processes employed in printing, the lovely dyes and well-balanced patterns. From the Indian side, however, the only evidence of the patterns and dyes used in textile printing of those days is obtainable from the miniatures of Western India. If we compare the patterns obtained from this source with those obtained from Fustāt, we will be at once struck with the fact that Western Indian miniatures have preserved faithfully the contemporary patterns in calico-printing.

Western Indian miniatures are also of great importance for the study of the Gujarātī costume from the 12th to 16th century. The contemporary sculpture of Gujarāt is highly stylised, and does not care to represent the contemporary costumes of the people with accuracy, but the contemporary painting, following the traditions of Ajaṇṭā and Ellura, has kept a faithful record of the costumes of Gujarāt. The miniatures also represent faithfully various fashions in wearing coiffure and ornaments, both by men and women. The restricted space, however, has precluded the representation of finer details. In this chapter we propose to deal with all the information which Western Indian miniatures provide us about the printed calicoes, costumes, ornaments and coiffures.

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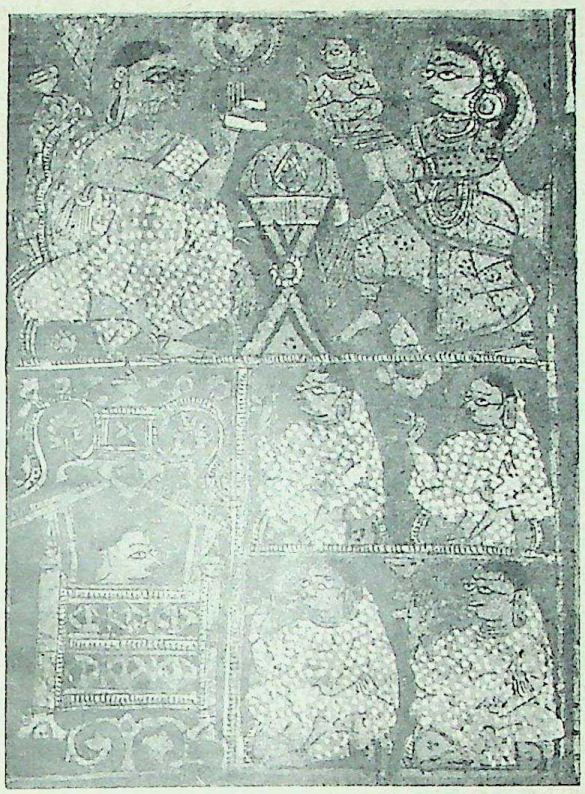

Fig. 165

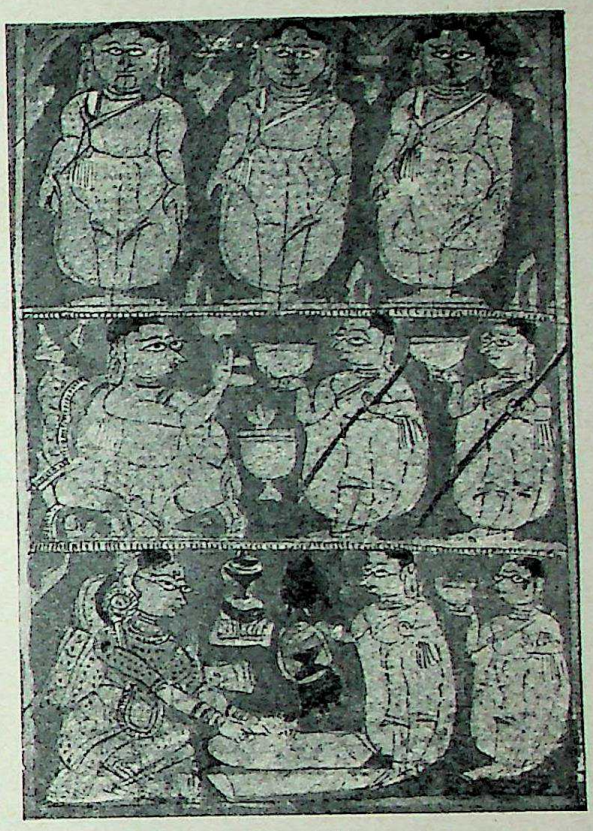

Fig. 166

Fig. 167

Fig. 168

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PRINTED CALICO

Before going into the details of the patterns used in the textile printing of Gujarāt it is necessary to know the outlines of the history of textile fabrics in Gujarāt and its export to foreign lands in ancient days. It is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (1st cen. A.D.) that Broach was the principal port of India doing business with the Occident. Barygaza, Broach as was known to the Greeks, exported the best broad sort (called Monāche) and a coarse cotton (called Sagmatogene), probably used for stuffing and padding, and a third kind of coloured cloth dyed with a product of the Indian Hibiscus produced in Gujarāt.[1] It is mentioned that even at such a remote period the Gulf of Broach was difficult to navigate. But, in spite of all the difficulties of transport, such was the renown of Indian muslin that the Occident imported it, and there was a very good demand for it in the isles of Socotra and the ports of the Red Sea.[2]

In the Middle Ages the cotton industry of Gujarāt not only supplied the home demands but also exported a large surplus to the Far East and other Islamic countries. Chao-Ju-Kua, the inspector of foreign commerce in the port of Ts'iuan-chu (Fu Kien), gives a list of products from Western Asia, Africa and China.[3] He mentions the cotton products of Malabar (which he takes to be the sea-coast from Nellore to Cambay),[4] and multicoloured cotton goods from Gujarāt.[5] All these fabrics are expressly mentioned in the lists of the indigenous products of each country; the word 'foreign' signifying the types different from those known in China.[6] Nan-ni-hua-lo or Sindh[7] produced white cotton goods, flowered or of pea green colour known as 'Chite' or 'chintz'. While speaking of the Persian Gulf, the author points out that every year, the Arab caravans brought for loading the boats fine cotton goods and red plants used for making red dye, which, according to the translator, was madder.[8] Marcopolo who passed seventeen years (1275—1292 A.D.) in the service of the Mongol sovereign gives us some interesting information about Indian cotton goods in his voyage to India. In Chapter 177 he mentions that Malabar produced fine buckram. In Chapter 179, buckram, as the product of the Kingdom of Thānā (20 miles north-east of Bombay), is mentioned. The Kingdom of Cambay (Chap. 180) is said to have produced indigo in abundance; fine buckram was manufactured there, and the country exported lot of cotton.

The import of cotton and cotton goods was at its maximum under the southern Sung dynasty in the 11th and 12th centuries.[9] We have a detailed account of the

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1. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 72, 73, 179–180.
2. Dioskorides, 31, 6.
3. Chao-Ju-Kua, *His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th centuries*, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, translated by F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1912.
4. *Ib.*, p. 83.
5. *Ib.* p. 92.
6. R. Pfister, *Les toiles imprimees de Fostatet l' Hindoustan*, p. 13, Paris, 1938.
7. Chao-Ju-Kua, *loc. cit.*, p. 98.
8. *Ib.*, p. 134, fn. 2.
9. W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century*, Toung Pao, XV (1914), p. 419.

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several voyages of the eunuch Cheng-Huo, which have come to us in two forms, the original given by Ma Huan, and a refacimento by Fei-Sin.[10] Both the redactions say that in all the coastal districts of South Asia as well as in the islands, the printed cotton goods formed the most important item of export. Speaking of the Indian Coast, the account says that it was the Kingdom of Ku-li, stretching from Cochin in the south to Cannanore in the north, which produced a good deal of printed calicoes.[11] This Ku-li should then be Calicut, but the neighbouring country of K'an-pa-yi, according to M. Pelliot[12], could not be Cambay which lies much farther to the north, but Coimbatore. It, however, does not seem possible that Cheng-Huo, who made many voyages to Calicut, could never reach Cambay, the principal producer and exporter of cotton goods.

We have good accounts of Indian commerce since the time the Portuguese opened the sea-route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope. Before this discovery the Arabs and Persians had a complete monopoly of Indian trade with the countries of the Far East. They were the masters of the sea-routes passing through the Persian Gulf and South Arabia on the one hand, and, on the other, they were in the centre of the land routes which passed through Syria and Mesopotamia to India and China. The Venetian merchants were obliged to seek for Indian goods at Alexandria and other trading centres on the Mediterranean. The knowledge of the sources of the exotic products which the Venetian merchants desired was, however, kept hidden from them.

It speaks very highly of the business zeal of the Portuguese that they penetrated the mysterious Orient as soon as the new sea-route was open to them. Duarte Barbosa started in about 1500 A.D., and spent sixteen years in India in the service of the Portuguese.[13] Barbosa mentions the importance of Aden from where the Indian products were taken to Alexandria by caravans. A few years after Egypt fell to the Turks who already possessed Aleppo, the greatest emporium of the Persian Gulf. The Portuguese counteracted this by occupying Ormuz, but the trade with Alexandria still flourished. Barbosa talks about the great quantity of cotton goods, which Aden received from Cambay (Chap. 34), as also Zanzibar (Chap. 14). Thus Gujarāt, with Cambay as its principal port, was the chief exporter of cotton goods, but as it was already under the Muslim rulers who were allied with the Turkish and Egyptian Sultans, the Portuguese found great difficulty in breaking the Muslim monopoly of the Oriental commerce. The population of Gujarāt was cosmopolitan, specially in the sea ports; Turks, Mamelukes (of Egypt), Persians (of the Gulf), and Khorasanis came to stay there from the sea or the north. These Moors of Cambay spoke various languages,

10. These two redactions have been mixed up by W. W. Rockhill, *Toung Pao*, XVI (1915), p. 61, ff. The true state of affairs has been re-established by P. Pelliot, *Toung Pao*, XXX (1933), p. 237. The text of Ma-Huan merits more confidence than the other.
11. Rockhill, *Toung Pao*, 1915, p. 455.
12. *Toung Pao*, 1933, p. 410.
13. Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 2 vols., Lond. 1918. The first volume contains 1—87 chapters and the second from 88—127 chapters.

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Fig. 169

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Arabic, Turkish and Gujarātī[14]. They carried business transactions with rich Hindu merchants whom Barbosa calls *gentios* or *gentils*. Cambay was an ancient port touched by the boats sailing to the Occident even in the days of the *Periplus*, but Broach (Barygaza) on the river Narbadā was no longer a port; Barbosa like his predecessors speaks of the dangers of the Gulf for navigation.[15] Later on, Cambay was abandoned for Surat, which in the course of time was eclipsed by Bombay.

In the time of Barbosa, Cambay produced white cotton fabrics and also printed calicoes. Both the varieties were exported by sea to Arabia, Persia, other parts of India, Malacca, Sumatra, Meylindi, Magadoxo and Mombasa.[16]. Situated more to the south, Chaul (now abandoned) exported to Arabia and Persia good quality of muslin for turbans[17]. The other varieties of calico were bleached and then two pieces joined and printed. Barbosa also mentions Pulicat (Chap. 100) manufacturing great qualities of printed cotton very much in demand in Malacca, Pegu, Sumatra and in the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Malabar for making garments. Pegu was visited by a number of Muslim navigators who brought there good quantity of printed calico and multicoloured silk goods from Cambay and Pulicat (Chap. 105). Siam also imported textile fabrics from Cambay (Chap. 109). The isles of Timor (Chap. 117), Banda (Chap. 118), Moluccas (Chap. 120), Celebes (Chap. 121) and China (Chap. 126) also received calico from Cambay and Pulicat.

From the accounts of the travellers we get an impression that the sea coasts of India, since the beginning of the Christian era, were great exporters of cotton fabrics, and since the beginning of the 16th century the Muslim merchants of Persia and Arabia assured their distribution into the countries of the Near East, East African coast and China. Gradually, certain regions acquired the veritable monopoly of this export; Barbosa speaks of the predominance of two centres—Gujarāt with Cambay on the Western coast, and Pulicat on the Eastern coast of India.

After the period with which we are concerned in this chapter, India became accessible to the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, who set up their organisations in this country, and the cotton fabrics, which were very little known in Europe till then, and printed cloth, began to play an important role in the exports from India to the West.

We have so far been taking notice of the plain or printed calico of Gujarāt and its export to different parts of Asia and Africa. The notices taken by the foreign travellers are, however, cryptic, and we are not told anything about the technical processes involved in weaving and printing. This ignorance about one of the oldest handicrafts of this country would have continued, had not two factors come to our rescue —the publication of Western Indian miniatures from the 12th to the 16th century, which have preserved in the treatment of the costumes the patterns employed in textile

14. Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, p. 121.
15. *Ib.*, I, p. 138.
16. *Ib.*, p. 154.
17. *Ib.*, I, p. 161.

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printing, and the discovery of a number of printed calico pieces from the sands of Fustāt, ably discussed and classified by R. Pfister in his work *Les toiles imprimees de Fostat et l'Hindoustan*. In this book the learned author has come to the conclusion that, of a very large number of printed calico pieces discovered at Fustāt, a very small part is of Egyptian origin, the rest being from India. The author himself admits the difficulties besetting such a pioneer study, because, firstly, India does not supply any textile fabric manufactured between the 12th and 16th centuries, and, secondly, because India had already, before the Muslim conquest, submitted to the influence of the neighbouring countries, such as Persia, Central Asia and China, and, in the art of printing, these foreign influences are much more pronounced than in the monumental art whose sacredotal character resisted innovation. The textile patterns in the contemporary literature remain superficially touched. As we shall see later on such kind of painstaking research gives a chronological basis for the patterns used in the printed calicoes of Gujarāt from the 12th to 16th century.

Roughly speaking, the patterns found in Western Indian miniatures may be divided into two parts: (1) the patterns found in the palm-leaf miniatures, dating roughly from 1100 to 1350 A.D., and (2) the patterns found in the palm-leaf miniatures from 1350 to 1450 A.D., and also in the miniatures on paper. There is, however, no great difference in the patterns of both periods.

In the painted wooden book-covers, datable to the middle of the 12th century, the following patterns appear :—

(1) Plain stripes with certain panels decorated with closely placed horizontal lines[18] (Fig. 190).

(2) The field decorated with what appear to be tie-dyed patterns; the borders decorated with the zig-zag[19] (Fig. 190).

(3) In the *sārīs* of the womenfolk, the field is divided into a number of compartments some filled with closely placed horizontal stripes and spirals, criss-cross, zig-zag and closely assorted flowers [20] (Fig. 209).

(4) Cross stripes and the simple circles of the tie-dye (Fig. 210) [21].

In the palm-leaf manuscripts, dated 1171 A.D., the following interesting patterns appear on the *sārīs* of the sixteen Vidyādevīs :—

(1) The field divided into compartments decorated with simple meanders (Fig. 211) [22].

(2) The field decorated with blocked squares on which fourleaved flowers appear (Fig. 212) [23].

(3) Peacook feather design (Fig. 213)[24].

18. *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Hindi-Guj.), III, Pl. *a*.
19. *Ib*.
20. *Ib*., Pl. *i*.
21. *Ib*., Pls. *i-ī*.
22. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 16.
23. *Ib*., Fig. 17.
24. *Ib*., Fig. 19.

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Fig. 170–171

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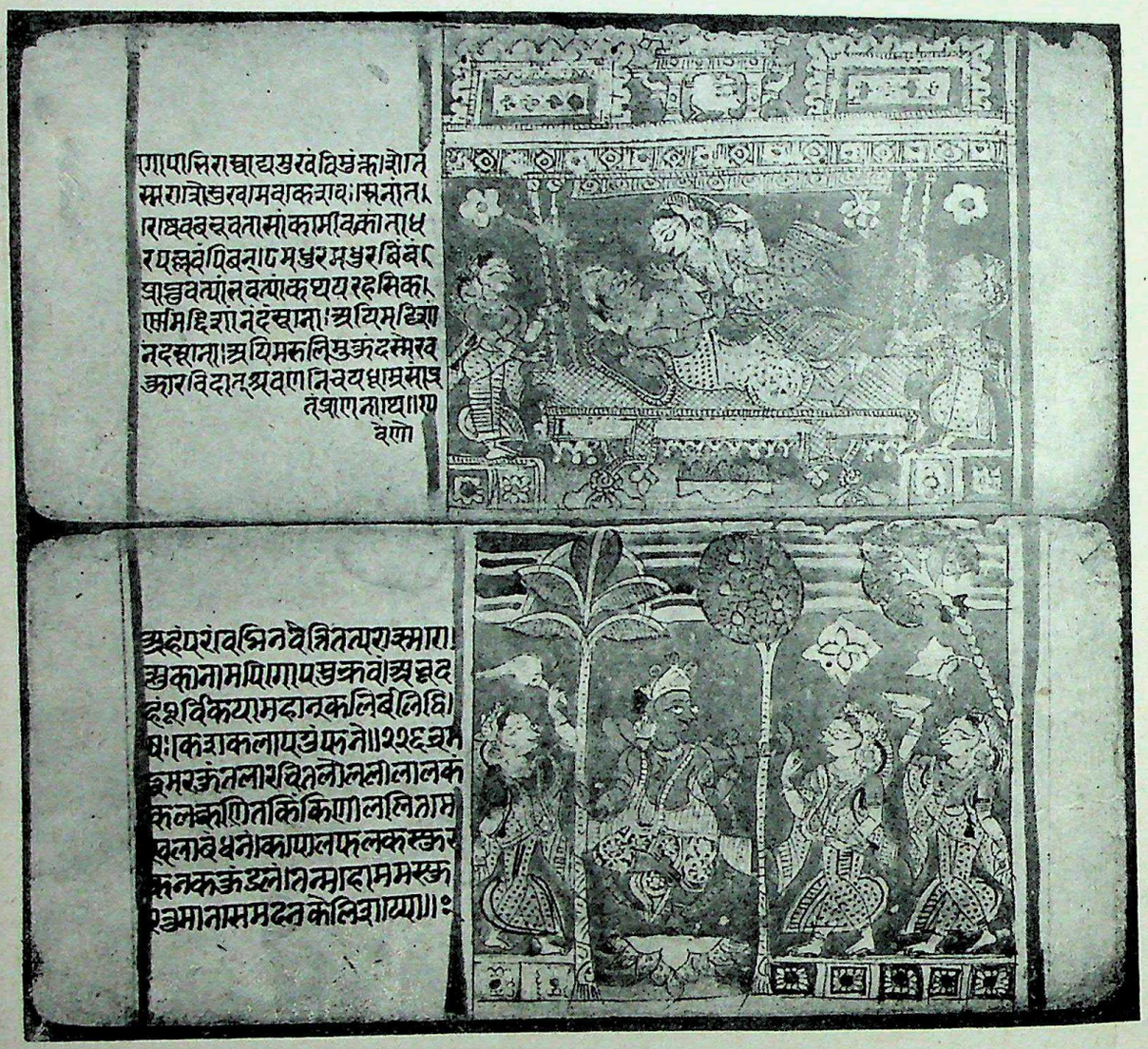

Fig. 172–173

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(4) Panels filled with denticular patterns and chevron (Fig. 214) [25].

(5) Rosettes, and small flowers with closely placed petals (Fig. 215) [26].

(6) Expanded lotuses with their pericarps ; there is no rim (Fig. 216) [27].

(7) Rimmed rosette in a circle (Fig. 217) [28].

(8) Simple cross pattern (Fig. 218) [29].

(9) Zig-zag alternating with floral meander (Fig. 219) [30].

(10) Zig-zag alternating with solid lozenges (Fig. 220) [31].

(11) Tie-dyed circles with four petalled flowers (Fig. 221) [32].

(12) Denticles alternating with chevron (Fig. 222) [33].

Patterns from the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Neminātha-charita* dated 1241 A.D.

(1) Thick cross pattern (Fig. 223) [34].

Pattern from the *Kalpasūtra*, dated 1279 A.D.

(1) Stepped square pattern (Fig. 224) [35].

Pattern from the *Kalpasūtra* dated 1372 A.D.

(1) Geese pattern.—The blue *sārī* decorated with the rows of geese carrying what appear to be pearl necklaces in their beaks (Fig. 225) [36].

The geese pattern was very favourite with the calico-printers of ancient India. In the *Kādambarī* (7th century)[37] white *dhotī* decorated with the geese pattern is mentioned. In the *Harshacharita* geese patterned *dukūla* garment is mentioned.[38] In a communication to M. Pfister,[39] who discovered a printed calico piece from Fustāt, Dr. Coomaraswamy was inclined to give this pattern a northern or Gujarāt origin.

(2) Delicate three petalled flowers in red on white ground.[40]

Patterns from the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* from Idar ; end of the 14th century.

(1) Dotted pattern (Fig. 226).[41]

(2) Horizontal blue stripes alternating with the panels of dotted circles in red (Fig. 227).[42]

(3) Cheques with the compartments filled with diamonds (Fig. 228).[43]

(4) Chequered square blocks (Fig. 229).[44]

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25. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 20.
26. *Ib.*, Fig. 22 ; *see* also Pfister, *loc.cit.*, Pls. VI and c.
27. *Ib.*, Fig. 23.
28. *Ib.*, Fig. 26.
29. *Ib.*, Fig. 28.
30. *Ib.*, Fig. 29.
31. *Ib.*, Fig. 31.
32. *Ib.*, Fig. 32.
33. *Ib.*, Fig. 34.
34. *Ib.*, Fig. 45.
35. *Ib.*, Fig. 49.
36. *Ib.*, Figs. 79, 184, 186, 191, 198.
37. *Kādambarī*, p. 19.
38. *Harshacharita*, p. 198. For further references *see* Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on *Hamsa-dukūla sārī*, in the Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, June 1927.
39. Pfister *loc. cit.*, Pl. II, *a*, pp. 32–34.
40. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 79.
41. *Ib.*, Fig. 83.
42. *Ib.*, Fig. 84.
43. *Ib.*, Figs. 86—89.
44. *Ib.*, Fig. 92.

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Patterns from the *Kalpasūtra* in the Dayāvimala collection ; 15th century.

(1) Stylised flowers (Fig. 230).[45]

(2) Rosettes ; the interspaces filled with small four petalled flowers (Fig. 231).[46]

(3) Arabesque (Fig. 232).[47]

(4) Flowers with curled stems (Fig. 233).[48]

(5) Solar symbol or sun-flower (Fig. 234).[49]

(6) Panels of chevron alternating with denticles (Fig. 235).[50]

(7) Cheques with compartments decorated with four petalled flowers (Fig. 236).[51]

(8) Appears like Chinese cloud pattern (Fig. 237).[52]

(9) Arabesque and solar symbol (Fig. 238).[53]

Patterns from a *Kalpasūtra* of the 15th century.

(1) Compartments filled with arabesque and criss-cross (Fig. 239).[54]

(2) Animals and birds pattern ; the field divided into compartments filled with the figures of geese, elephants and horses (Fig. 240).[55]

(3) Rosettes with the interspaces filled with stylised leaves (Fig. 241).[56]

Analysing the patterns described above, we find that the following motifs were common ; plain stripes, denticles, tie-dyed circles, spirals, cheques, meanders, blocked squares, chevron, rosettes, lozenges, cross pattern, small flowers, dotted circles, stylised flowers, arabesques, wheel pattern and zig-zag. As the space at the disposal of the painters was limited, all the details of the contemporary textile patterns could not be represented. But whatever details they have given show that the craft of calico printing was very much developed.

COSTUME: PERIOD I, A.D. 1100—1300

Interesting details of the Gujarātī costumes and ornaments are preserved in Western Indian miniatures, which confirm the description of the costume of Gujarāt given by Ibn Haukal (11th century), Chao-Ju-Kua (12th century), and Duarte Barbosa (stayed in India from 1500—1516 A.D.). Ibn Haukal says[57] that the people of the Gulf of Cambay and Malabar coast wore *izār* and *mizār* after the fashion of the Muhammadans settled there. This costume acted as a guard against the extreme heat, and for that very reason it was adopted by the people of Multān. The merchants wore the respective costume of their countries. Chao-Ju-Kua[58] describes the costumes and

45. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 117 ; *see* Pfister, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV-*c*.
46. *Ib.*, bottom panel.
47. *Ib.*, Fig. 119.
48. *Ib.*, Fig. 120.
49. *Ib.*, Fig. 122.
50. *Ib.*, Fig. 129.
51. *Ib.*, Fig. 132.
52. *Ib.*, Fig. 141.
53. *Ib.*, Fig. 140.
54. *Ib.*, Fig. 196.
55. *Ib.*, Fig. 1.
56. *Ib.*, Fig. 187.
57. M. Reinaud, *Mémoire geographique historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, p. 283 Paris, 1849.
58. *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 481.

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Fig. 174

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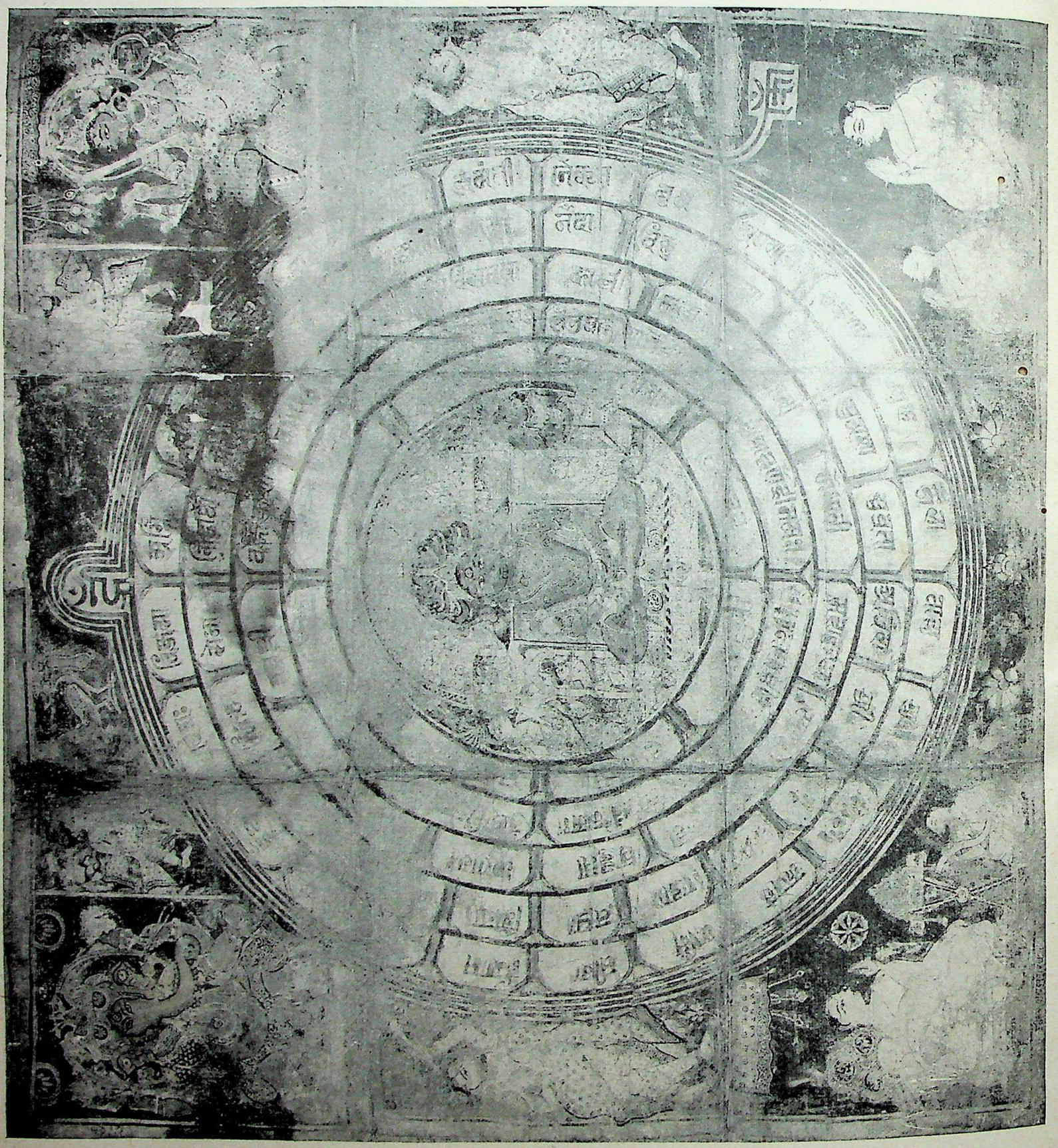

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ornaments of the 12th century Gujarātīs, both men and women as follows : " Both men and women have double rings hanging down their ears ; they wear tight clothes, and are wrapped in plain cotton cloth ; they wear on their hair white hoods, and on their feet shoes of scarlet leather." From the above descriptions of the costumes of the Gujarātīs in the 11th and 12th centuries, it is clear that the men, perhaps after the fashion of the Muhammadans, wore shorts and jackets, as the light clothes of Chao-Ju-Kua and the *izār* and *mizār* of Ibn Haukal would signify. Then, according to Chao-Ju-Kua, the women wore *sāṛīs*. Both men and women also covered their heads with scarves and perhaps wore shoes.

Now reverting to Western Indian miniatures from roughly 1100 to 1300 A.D. we find that the observations of Ibn Haukal and Chao-Ju-Kua about the costume of the Gujarātīs are true to a very great extent. The following costumes types may be distinguished in this period.

The typical costumes of the princes, bankers and merchants, as represented in the painted wooden book-covers from the Jaisalmer Jñāna Bhaṇḍār[59], are of two types. In the Jain temple and in the presence of Śrī Jinadatta Sūri, the men wear tight fitting shorts made of elaborately embroidered or printed materials; zig-zags, cheques and small flowers being the chief patterns (Fig. 242). The shorts are tightly secured with the *kamarbands* to which are attached *paṭkās*. On the shoulders may be seen *dupaṭṭas* with their both ends dangling. In one case at least, the *dupaṭṭā* is worn transversely across the chest. The upper parts of their bodies is devoid of any clothing, and this may be due to their presence in a temple whose sanctity demands uncovering of the body.

Fig. 175

In the scene representing Kumuda-chandra and Devasūrī the true costume of the people is shown. Their shorts, *kamarbands* and *paṭkās* are of the same type, but there is an addition of an open, half-sleeved, tight jacket reaching to the waist (Fig. 243). These jackets were made of plain or tie-dyed materials. The musicians and the gate-keeper wear the same type of costume. That this type of costume was worn by the princes or at least rich merchants is evident from the costume of Kumārapāla depicted in a palm-leaf miniature dated 1237 A.D.[60] Here the king is shown wearing an ultra-marine open jacket and shorts with the pattern in yellow indicating gold.

For this open jacket the *Mānasollāsa* seems to have used the word *aṅgikā* while describing the costume of a king.[61] For shorts *kaipika ?* (amended *kośika*) has been used. Elsewhere in the *Mānasollāsa*[62], the shorts are called *dvipadī*, which was worn by both men and women while hunting.

It would be interesting to trace the origin of the jacket. It does not seem to be of Indian origin, as it does not occur in Ajaṇṭā paintings. Perhaps, it is of Central

59. *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Hindi-Guj.), III, Pls. *a—i*.
60. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 13.
61. *Mānasollāsa*, II, p. 89, s. 32.
62. *Ib.*, II, 279, s. 76.

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Asiatic or Persian origin brought over to Gujarāt by the merchants from those countries, as observed by Ibn Haukal.

In the late 12th century painted wooden book-cover, representing a fight between Bharata and Bāhubali, the typical military costume of the period is indicated. It consisted of a half sleeved indigo coloured tunic, tight fitting shorts made of striped material, *kamarband* and top-boots. The head seems to have been covered with a scarf (Fig. 244).

The Śvetāmbara Jain monks wear a white *dhotī* and a *chādar* worn transversely across the chest (Fig. 245).

In the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript, dated 1278 A.D., from Pāṭan, the Śvetāmbara nuns are shown wearing what appears like a *sāṛī*, loose tunic and a *chādar* (Fig. 246). All parts of their bodies are fully covered.

The following varieties in the costume of the womenfolk may be distinguished :—

In the illustrated book-cover representing Jinadatta Sūri in his audience hall, the two women represented wear *sāṛīs* and tight *chādars* covering their coiffure and falling at their back (Fig. 247). It is remarkable that no bodice covers their breasts. This may be due to their deference to the temple custom.

The typical costume of the women of Gujarāt in the 12th century is illustrated in the figures of the Vidyādevīs in a palm-leaf manuscript from Chhāṇi, near Baroda, dated 1161 A.D.[63] Their dress consists of richly patterned *sāṛīs* reaching the ankles, *paṭkās* matching the *sāṛīs*, tight half-sleeved *cholīs* covering the entire chest and the stomach and the light scarves worn on the shoulders (Fig. 248). That the *cholīs* did not always cover the entire chest is evident from the illustrated book-cover depicting the battle between Bharata and Bāhubali. Here the women are shown wearing striped *sāṛīs* and *paṭkās*, and their breasts are covered with half-sleeved *cholīs*, made of striped or flowered materials which leave the stomach exposed (Fig. 249).

The preference for bodice by the Gujarātī women is referred to in the contemporary Sanskrit literature. Thus, the *Mānasollāsa*[64] mentions that the Gujarātī women wore full sleeved bodice (*āpāṇikṛta-kañchuka*). In the commentary of the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* (5th Ullāsa), the covered breasts of Gujarātī women are mentioned (*no gurjarīstanaivātitarām nigūḍhaḥ*).

The dancing girl, depicted in the wooden cover representing Devasūri and Kumuda-chandra, wears half sleeved *cholī* covering the breasts, tight shorts and the *kamarband* whose ends flutter in the whirlpool action of the dance.

In the *Pañchatīrthīpaṭ*, a hunting woman is shown wearing a short skirt and the *cholī* (Fig. 250).

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63. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs., 16—36.

64. *Mānasollāsa*, II, p. 101.

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COSTUME: PERIOD II, 1300—1560 A.D.

Gujarāt, though it had felt the might of the rising power of Islam as early as 1009 A.D., and had also suffered from the invasions of Mahumūd of Ghazna in 1024, was finally conquered by Alāuddīn in 1296. During the 14th century, the province of Gujarāt formed a part of the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1396, however, Zafar Khān, the governor of Gujarāt, revolted and formed the kingdom of Gujarāt which was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar in 1573 A.D.

Ahmad Shāh founded Ahmadābād, the new capital of Gujarāt, in 1412 A.D. The building of this new city laid the foundation of the beautiful and interesting Islamic architecture of Gujarāt, which drew inspiration from the indigenous forms it tried to replace.

In the period under review, Gujarāt had passed from the hands of the Hindu rulers to, Muslims, with the consequence that the early culture phase with predominantly Indian elements was closed, and a new culture phase started, in which Islam was destined to play an important part. This should not mean that there was any revolution in the indigenous culture of Gujarāt, as the traditions of the ancient culture were too deep-rooted to be displaced within a short time. Nevertheless, there was a definite change, and that change is reflected in a marked degree in the costume of the people. The shorts and jackets are discarded, and the *dhotīs* and scarves are of much finer material and reflect the luxury of the age. Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gujarāt between 1500 and 1516 A.D., describes the costume and ornaments of the people. His accuracy is vouchsafed by Western Indian miniatures of the 14th and 15th centuries. I quote his description below :

" They wear the hair very long like the women in Spain, and they wear it gathered at the top of the head, and made into a band which is much adorned, and upon this a cap to fasten it ; and they always wear many flowers stuck into their hair, and sweet smelling things. They also anoint themselves with white sandal mixed with saffron and other scents ; they are much given to fall in love. They go bare, only covering themselves from the waist downward with very rich silk stuffs ; they wear embroidered shoes of very good leather, well worked and some short silk skirts and other short ones of cotton, with which they cover their bodies. They do not carry arms, only small knives garnished with gold and silver, for two reasons—one because they are persons who make little use of arms, the other because the Moors forbid it to them. They use many earrings of gold and jewellery in the ears, and many rings, and belts of gold and jewellery upon the cloth with which they gird themselves. The women of these Gentiles have very pretty delicate faces and well made bodies, a little dark. Their dress is silk stuff like their husbands as far as the feet, and the jackets with narrow sleeves of silk stuff, open at the shoulders, and other silk clothes with which they cover themselves in the manner of *Morisco almalafas ;* their heads bare, the hair gathered up upon the head ; they wear thick ankle rings of gold and silver on the legs, and rings on their toes, and large coral beads on their arms, with beads of gold filigree, and gold and silver bracelets ; and round thin necks necklaces of gold and jewellery fitting

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closely; they have large holes pierced in their ears, and in them rings of gold and silver large enough for an egg to pass through them." [65]

From the above description it is clear that the Gujarātīs of the 15th century wore *dhotīs* and *chādars* and small caps on their bun-like coiffure. The women wore *sārīs* and scarves. Now if we go into the details of the Gujarātī costume, as preserved in the illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*, dating from 1370 to 1426 A.D., we are convinced of the truthfulness of the observations of Barbosa. In the manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra*, dated 1370, in the scene depicting the birth of Mahāvīra[66], the dress of Triśalā is typical of a highly placed woman in the 14th century Gujarāt. She wears an indigo coloured *dhotī* worked with the geese pattern, a graceful scarf covering her coiffure and a part wrapped round the waist, and half sleeved green bodice (Fig. 251). In another 14th century *Kalpasūtra* manuscript from Idar[67], the typical costume of menfolk is heavily ornamented *dhotī* and scarf (Fig. 252). These typical costumes are followed without variation in all the subsequent miniatures.

In the *Vasanta Vilāsa* the men wear *dhotīs* reaching upto the knees with a short scarf thrown across the shoulders, leaving the upper half of the body uncovered. The *pāijāmah* appears to have been totally unknown, as also the turban. The headgear is usually a peaked cap or *mukuṭā*.[68]

While the male costume followed more or less the ancient modes as depicted in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā, the female costume underwent radical changes. The *sārī* typical of modern Gujarāt was unknown. The women in the paintings of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* wear a long, gaily coloured scarf coming down from the shoulders and hanging loose below the knees. The lower part of their bodies are invariably covered with a *dhotī*, much in the same way as is done in the present days in Bengal and the United Provinces. The skirt seems to have been unknown. The women also wore a bodice (*cholī*) covering the bust almost down to the waist, a little above the navel (Fig. 253). Women of lower classes went about bareheaded, and the *mukuṭa* seems to have been a monopoly of the female aristocracy.[69]

Some very interesting details of the costumes of the female dancers are preserved in the decorative figures on the borders of the two early 15th century illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra*. In one type, the dancer wears closely fitting shorts, *paṭkā*, half-sleeved closely fitting *cholī* reaching a little above the navel, scarf (*dupaṭṭā*) covering the shoulders, and a scarf tied round the hair (Fig. 254).[70] In the second type, the shorts are replaced by the *sārī* (Fig. 255)[71]. In the third type (Fig. 256)[72], she wears what appears

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65. Duarte Barbosa, *The Coast of East Africa and Malabar*, p. 52.
66. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 80.
67. *Ib.*, Fig. 91.
68. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 19.
69. *Ib.*, pp. 20, 21.
70. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs., 114–15.
71. *Ib.*, Figs., 116—125.
72. *Ib.*, Fig. 126.

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Fig. 176

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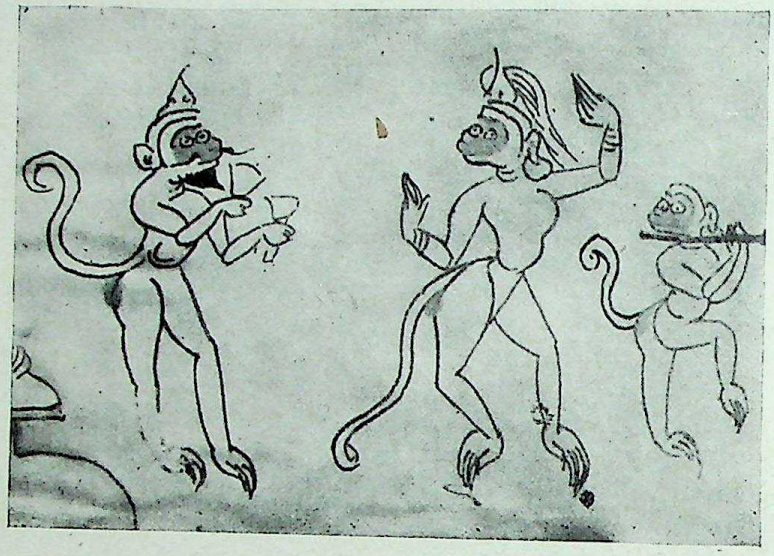

Fig. 177

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to be close-fitting trousers, the *cholī*, and a transparent *jāmah*. In the fourth type (Fig 257)[73], she wears a full sleeved *cholī* and a straight edged skirt.

We have already observed that Gujarāt in the beginning of the 14th century came under the Muslim rule. We know from the accounts of the contemporary travellers and historians the costumes of the Muslim kings, courtiers and soldiers, but it is only in Western Indian paintings that we find them visualised. We find that the costume was Turkish with strong Mongol influence. Al Qalqshandī, in his *Subh ul A'sha*[74], devotes a few chapters to India, one of which deals with the costume of the people. "The dress of the soldiers including Sultāns, Khāns, Maliks and the other officers," observes al Qalqshandī, "are given on the authority of Sheikh Mubarak ul Anbati as, 'Tartaric gowns (*Tatariyat*), *Jakalwat* and Islamic *qabas* of Khwarizm buckled in the middle of the body and short turbans which do not exceed five or six forearms (*ḍīra*). Their dress is of Bayḍ and Jūkh'."[75]

"It is related on the authority of Ash-Sharīf Nasīr-al-Dīn Muhammad Al-Husaynī al-Adamī that their usual dress is gold embroidered Tartaric gowns: some of them wear gold embroidered sleeves and the others put the embroidery between their shoulders like the Mughals. Their headdress is four cornered in shape, ornamented with jewels and mostly with diamonds and rubies. They plait their hair in hanging locks as it used to be done in the beginning of the Turkish rule in Egypt and Syria except that they put silk tassels in the locks. They bind gold and silver belts tightly round their waists, and wear shoes and spurs and do not girt the swords round their waists except when on journey."[76]

"The dress of the Vazīrs and Kātibs is like that of the soldiers except that they have no belts. But sometimes they let down a piece of cloth in front of them as Sufis do."[77]

"The judges and the learned men (*ulamā*) wear ample gowns (*farajiyat*) that resembles Janādiyat[78] and Arabic garments (*durra*)."[79]

"It is related on the authority of Qāḍī Sirāj-al-Dīn al-Hindī that none among them wears cotton clothes imported from Russia and Alexandria except he whom Sultān clothes with it. Their dress is made of fine cotton which resembles the Baghdādī one in beauty."

From the above description of the costume of the ruling classes, it is evident that they wore sewn garments which were quite different to the articles of costume worn by the Indians. The exact shapes of these garments are, fortunately, preserved in the illustrated manuscripts of the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*, where, under the guise of the ancient

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73. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 127—130, 132, 134–35, 137—140.
74. *An Arab account of India in the fourteenth century*, tr. by Otto Spies, *The Muslim University Journal*, June, 1935.
75. *Ib.*, p. 69.
76. *Ib.*, pp. 69—70.
77. *Ib.*, p. 70.
78. Striped material manufactured at Janad in Yaman and hence a gown made of that stuff.
79. A garment opening in front and buttoned is an Arab cloth like the *Jabā* originally from Persia.

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Śaka chiefs and their followers, the contemporary costume of the members of the ruling race are preserved. In a miniature from the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*, dated 1458 A.D., [80] the Turkish costume is shown to consist of a full long sleeved Tartaric gown, half sleeved *qaba*, full boots and a pointed cap [81] (Fig. 258). This dress bears a remarkable resemblance to the 15th century costume of the Mughals from Herāt. There is, however, one difference that, while turban was worn by the Mughals of Herāt, the Indian Turks preferred pointed caps.

We have seen in the accounts of Nasīr-al-Dīn that the Turks in India wore their hair in hanging locks decorated with silken tassels. This characteristic mode of hair dressing is illustrated in the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*.[82]

The following variations in the Muslim costume may be noted. The king wears sometimes a cape attached to the *qaba*[83] (Figs. 259—61). On the battlefield, however, the *qaba* is replaced by a *jāmah* flying on the right and reaching a little above the ankles. There is also a *kamarband* with its ends fluttering in the air (Fig. 262).[84]

The cap worn by a king or a soldier is not of a fixed type. Sometimes it is pointed with a boss at the tip [85] (Fig. 259). It is also conical with broad upturned brim [86] (Fig. 258), triangular [87] (Fig. 260), or four pointed [88] (Fig. 261). At one place, it is dome-shaped[89] with seams visible in the middle.

While talking of caps, it is interesting to note that some of the types described above are found on the Kushāna heads from Mathurā as early as the 1st century A.D. The cap, however, was not adopted by the Indians who continued to wear the turban or scarf as a head-gear for a very long time. In the 10th century the cap, under its modern Hindi designation *ṭopī*, seems to have been known. Thus Pushpadanta describes a variegated cap which covered both the ears [90] (*siriṭopīdiṇṇau vaṇṇavaṇṇa, sā jhampavi saṇṭhiyadoṇakaṇṇa*). Such a cap seems to have been worn by Indra in the battle scene between Bharata and Bāhubali (Fig. 199). It is, however, certain that this cap was not very popular. Barbosa also says that in the 15th century the Gujarātīs wore caps to keep their hair in place, but this is apparently intended for the *mukuṭa* which both men and women of the upper classes seem to have worn.

ORNAMENTS AND COIFFURE

The Gujarātīs, from the 12th to 15th century, were extraordinarily fond of ornaments with which both men and women bedecked their persons. Barbosa, as already

80. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, Figs. 1, 22, 24, 30, 33, 37.
81. *Ib.*, Fig. 22.
82. *Ib.*, Figs. 28, 33.
83. *Ib.*, Figs. 21, 24, 28.
84. *Ib.*, Fig. 29.
85. *Ib.*, Fig. 21.
86. *Ib.*, Fig. 22.
87. *Ib.*, Fig. 24.
88. *Ib.*, Fig. 28.
89. *Ib.*, Fig. 29.
90. *Jasaharachariu*, I, 6, 4, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1931.

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quoted, emphasises the love of the Gujarātīs for ornaments. The style of the ornaments did not change to any appreciable extent within the four hundred years under review. We propose to describe below the various ornaments without any chronological sequence.

Karṇaphūla.—Large circular pearl earrings were worn both by men and women. In the 14th century, however, women wore two rings, one in the lobe and the other on the top of the ear [91] (Fig. 55).

Necklaces (hāra).—Both men and women wore pearl necklaces made of either pearls or flat beads. They had one or more strands.

Bangles.—Both men and women wore bangles and armlets. The men, however, wore only one or two *kaḍās*, but the women covered their forearms with the bangles (*cūḍīs*), over which they wore *kankaṇa*, *chhanda* and *pachhelī*.

Armlets.—They were worn both by men and women, and were made either of pearls or flat beads. They were at times of elaborate workmanship (Fig. 252)[92].

Anklets.—Both men and women wore anklets and rings.

Nose-drops.—In the *Vasanta Vilāsa* miniatures, while the nose-ring is unknown, the women wear a diamond or pearl as a nose-drop.[93]

Mukuṭa.—Elaborately decorated *mukuṭas*, roughly triangular in shape, were worn by men and women of the upper classes.

Headmarks.—The Indians were very fond of decorating their foreheads with various symbols which were purely decorative in the beginning but took religious meaning at a much later period. In Western Indian miniatures, the following marks were used to decorate the forehead.

U-shaped mark.—This symbol has been designated as a Vaishṇavite *tilaka*, and has been taken to represent the Vaishṇavite influence in Gujarāt. This U-shaped *tilaka*, however, appears in Western Indian miniatures as early as the 12th century and Vaishṇavism does not seem to have anything to do with it. As early as the beginning of the Christian era, there was a decorative pattern known as the *tilaka-ratna*[94], described in the commentary as a head-mark. In the architectural pieces recovered from the great Jain Stūpa at Mathurā, this symbol is the same as the *triratna* symbol of the Buddhists. It is made of two *makaras* joined with their heads with a rosette inside. This original motif underwent certain changes in the course of time, the *makaras* losing their animal character at every step till the symbol becomes roughly W-shaped. There is little doubt that the U-shaped *tilaka* in Western Indian miniatures is a further abbreviation of this symbol, and does not carry any religious significance, though in the very early times it is possible that the symbol was imbued with some sacred character.

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91. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Fig. 79.
92. *Ib.*, Fig. 112.
93. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 21.
94. *Rāyapaseniya Sūtra*, p. 160.

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Circular spots.—It is known as *ṭīkā*, and the forehead was often marked with it (Figs 190—192).

Khaura.—The women also seem to have besmeared their foreheads with the sandal-wood paste [95] (Figs. 17—42).

Coiffure.—We have been told by Barbosa that the Gujarātīs wore their hair very long and gathered it at the top of their head. It is evident from Western Indian miniatures that both men and women arranged their coiffure in the manner described above. The men generally wore beards and moustaches.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, however, some new styles in the coiffure of the women-folk are found. Thus, in a miniature of 14th century *Kalpasūtra* Triśalā's hair is braided. The dancing girls of the 15th century invariably wore their hair in long plaits. Their coiffure was arranged in one, two or three braids (Figs. 1[illegible], 131)[96], and was decorated with tassels.

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95. *Jaina-chitra Kalpadruma*, Figs. 16—31.

96. *Ib.*, Figs. 119, 142.

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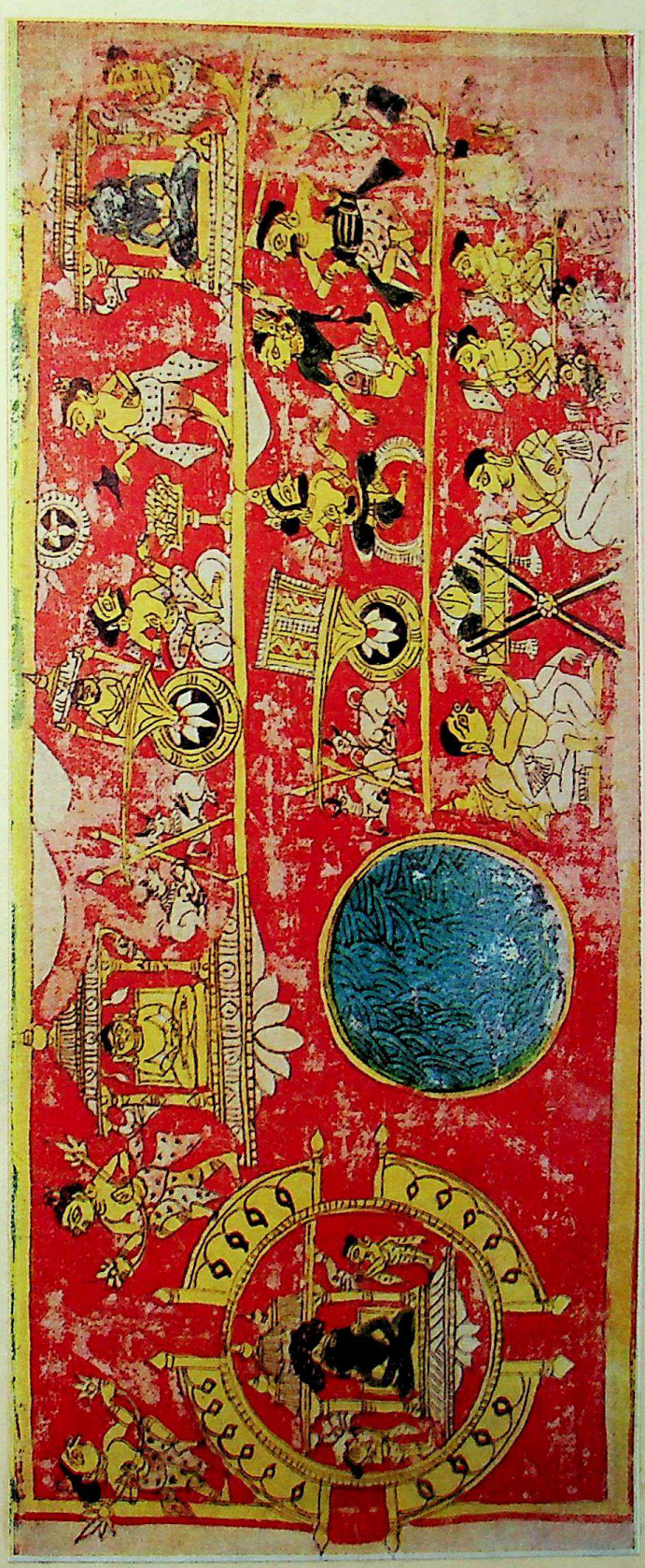

Fig. 178

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CHAPTER V

ÆSTHETIC CONSIDERATIONS IN WESTERN INDIAN PAINTING

IN the foregoing chapters, we have tried to give an analysis of Western Indian painting from the point of view of chronology and technique, and have also pointed out its importance for the history of textile-printing industry of Gujarāt and the costume. But art is not merely history, and neither does it fulfil its function by serving the interests of sociology. In its fundamentals, art stands for the æsthetic appeal which it stirs in the heart of men and women, thus chastening their emotional background. The æsthetic appeal of art does not lie in the technical perfection, but in the intensity of emotional approach which makes itself felt through the brilliance of colours and the vibration of lines. The art of Ajaṇṭā does not so much depend for its greatness on the technical side as on the deep æsthetic considerations which moved the artists. These æsthetic expressions may be due to the personal pleasures and pains whose impressions the artist gathers from his surroundings, and stores up in his memory to be used when the occasion arises, or they may be due to the rigorous self-discipline in probing the deep mysteries of life, which religion is alone able to teach. In the wonderful sculptures of Ellura, it is not the realisation of the external surroundings which characterises the great images, but the metaphysical thoughts brooding on the mysteries of creation and destruction, the life and its fulfilment. Devoid of the above considerations, art degenerates to mere craftsmanship, ready to place its services at the disposal of the rich, with little artistic susceptibilities but a fat purse. It no longer fulfils the fundamental principles of true art, but becomes commercialised. It arouses the curiosity of the people and mollifies their vanity, but it fails to give permanent values. We shall have to bear in mind these factors while giving a correct æsthetic appraisal of Western Indian painting.

Turning to the art of Western India from the 11th to 15th century, we are struck with certain features which are peculiarly its own. It reflects the interfusion of the monastic and the guild life; it does not err towards mysticism, but is practical to the extent that it reflects the great wealth of the merchants who were its chief patrons. Medieval Gujarāt was the land of great merchants, their coffers overflowing with money, a part of which they spent on building temples and ordering illustrated manuscripts for the twin purpose of glorification among their co-religionists and attainment of heaven after death. The merchants as a community are thoroughly

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practical people everywhere in the world, and even if they build, it is on a grand scale, as money is no consideration. But one thing which money is unable to buy is æsthetic taste, and, therefore, the art of the period with its faultless carvings, rising tier upon tier, and the illustrated manuscripts resplendent with gold and ultramarine, leave us amazed at the great riches spent over them, but our æsthetic reactions are rather cold. In the maze of the confusing decorative values, our mind is unable to grasp the fundamentals of the artistic form which alone is capable of giving permanent value to art.

When we direct our attention towards Western Indian art, we do not try to isolate objects by purely æsthetic analysis. The association, for example, of a painting or an illustrated manuscript, and the association of the person brought into contact with it, are alone conducive to that state of mind from which one derives the sense of values. Among the associations of a painting may be the sacred subjects it deals with, the teacher to whom it is dedicated, the fame of the monastery to which it belonged, and the amount of money spent for its execution. The æsthete is to approach the painting in that religious frame of mind to which the incidents in the painting are as clear as day-light, and, together with other associations of the painting which he invokes, he is able to realise certain values, which, unhappily, a man, not knowing those associations, is unable to realise. As Prof. K. De. B. Codrington observes, "This confusion between the religious and the æsthetic, so evident to the analytic mind, is not a matter of failure to arrive at distinctions but of a definite refusal to admit of distinctions in which the sum of reactions that is human life, in which qualities are held to exist only as stupid preferences and intensity is alone satisfying."[97]

From the above statement, it is, therefore, evident that the associations both of the object of art and the æsthete should blend to bring about that happy state of mind which is necessary for the realisation of æsthetic contentment. But this point of view, if accepted, is bound to bring great confusion in the field of æsthetics, as it would require the æsthete to know the associations of the object and then blend them with his own frame of mind which understands the religious significance of a particular piece of art, before he realises its æsthetic values.

To understand the æsthetic significance of Western Indian painting, we have to approach the Ellura paintings, which are the earliest survivals of Western Indian painting and which are nearer to its original character than the twelfth century illustrations on palm-leaves and wooden book-covers. The frescoes at Rangmahal are Brahmanical and quite in line with the spiritual and æsthetic ideals set up in the sculpture. To understand the æsthetic connotation of these paintings, however, one has to understand their associations which are Brahmanical mythologies, the stories of Śiva and Vishṇu and the elements they represent. In all these paintings, there broods a sense of deep meditative contemplation, which is palpable not only in

97. Codrington, *Study of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, p. 20.

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Fig. 179

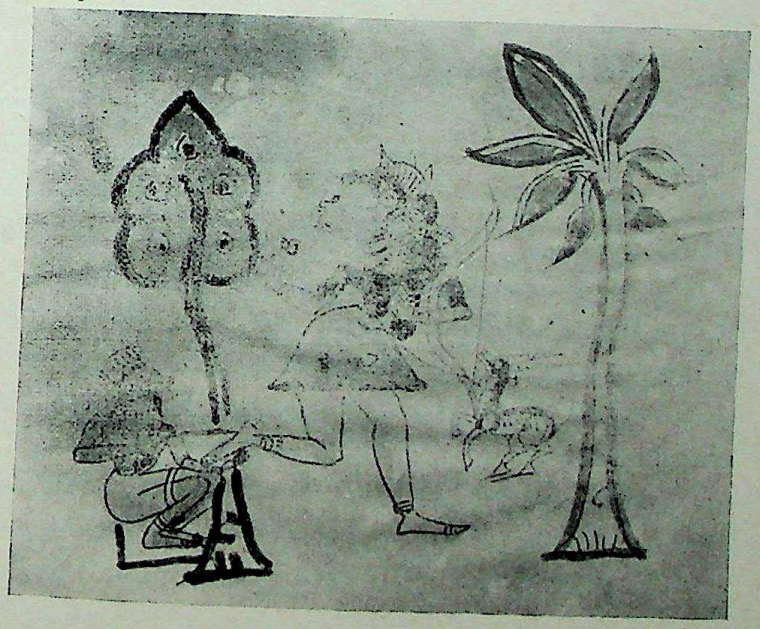

Fig. 180

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the figures of the gods and goddesses but also in the Apsarases floating on the woolly clouds. The paintings, however, suffer on technical grounds on account of the flatness which has discarded modelling and, therefore, unable to catch the æsthetic grandeur of the stone reliefs of Ellura, which throb with a sense of divine contemplation born of spiritual contentment. It is an art of lines with preference for angularities and simple colour scheme and often overcrowded composition. The knowledge of the well established iconographic types of the Brahmanical gods and their symbolical significance are essential for understanding the æsthetic and metaphysical implications of Ellura paintings. To sum up, the æsthetic qualities of Ellura paintings are to be understood not as a separate phenomenon which defies analysis, but as the part and parcel of a great temple with its associations of other artistic wealth, and the deep metaphysical conviction prevailing through its sculptures. Viewed in such associations, the paintings fit perfectly in the general scheme of the temple, and their technical shortcomings do not matter.

The next stage in the development of Western Indian school reaches in the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts from roughly 1100 to 1300 A.D. Wall-paintings in Western India are, however, unknown, though from the 11th or 12th century wall-paintings from Tirumalai, Madanpur, and Pagan, it could be said that the wall-paintings in Western India must have been similar to them. In the miniatures of the 12th century, there is a tendency towards simplification. Here, there are no elaborate compositions, the line and colours are simple, and the back ground usually painted in monochrome. In short, these paintings prefer directness of expression to technical perfection. It is not the art of the philosophers with all its metaphysical implications, but the art of the matter-of-fact business community which regarded art in its business setting. The fancy of the artists does not soar high enough to see in the figures of the Jinas and the gods and godlings the working of a spiritual force ; typologically, the Jinas and the gods to them were little different to their patrons, only the distinguishing symbols and elevated position of the former sought to distinguish them from the common run of men. From the above remarks, however, it should not be understood that symbolism in Western Indian art did not play any part. On the contrary, iconography did play an important part in the period under review. An elaborate system of sacred symbols and iconographic types of Vidyādevīs and Yakhsas was known to Western Indian artists, but there is little æsthetic significance in them, and their types are repeated with such nonchalance that they become more or less decorative patterns.

As we have pointed out that the art of the period is religious in the sense that it seeks to glorify religion with its Jinas and the gods and goddesses, all reduced to pictorial formulas, which are repeated *ad nauseum* with little variation. This religious art imposed limitations on the artist and greatly curbed his originality. In the scenes dealing with purely secular subjects, however, there are no such limitations, and, consequently, his work gains in vivacity and freedom of expression. A twelfth century painted wooden

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book-cover depicts a free religious discussion between the Śvêtambara monk Devasūri and his Digambara adversary, Kumuda-chandra (Figs. 193—198). The animated gesture of Kumuda-chandra, the controlled expression of Jinadatta, and the challenging attitude of the messenger sent by the former to the latter, are very naïvely stressed. Then follows the march of both teachers to Pāṭaṇ where the discussion was to be held. The joy pervading the party of Devasūri is clearly stressed, and the vigorous movement of the dancers and musicians and the proud gait of the Âchārya and his followers stress the anticipated victory. On the other hand, the slow movement of the followers of Kumuda-chandra, and the appearance of a serpent as an ill-omen, show what was in stock for him. The painter actually seems to have taken a malicious delight in the discomfiture of Kumuda-chandra whom he represents as being unceremoniously brushed aside by the gate-keeper of the imperial palace at Pāṭaṇ, when Kumuda-chandra tries to approach the king's mother for succour. In conformation with the principles of primitive art, the artist is direct in his expression, and no landscape or architectural setting is introduced which is not essentially a part of the story. The artist is bent upon telling a story directly, and he does not want the technical or artistic requirements to divert attention to non-essentials, thus breaking the continuity of the story.

In a painted wooden book-cover depicting the battle between Bharata and Bāhubalī (Fig. 199—200) as well, the same directness of expression is followed. Both the brothers are engaged in a mortal combat, riding on chariots. Only a few soldiers are shown as the space was limited, but the grimness of the battle is emphasised by the determined expressions of the combataṇts, and the flying arrows which have literally strewn the field. Here, the artist is not concerned with the stereotyped scenes from the lives of the Jinas, but with the unusual scene of a battle-field, the idea of whose ferocity he must have gained from some medieval battle ground. He makes his soldiers look real, and that clearly shows that a Western Indian artist could give direct expression to his feelings, when he was given an opportunity to do so. Even in the decorative lotus meander on the reverse of this panel, the artist gives vigorous touches reminiscent of Ajaṇṭā but with a primitive vigour of its own.

The culture of Gujarāt was affected in the beginning of the 14th century by the forces of Islam, and its effect is clearly visible on the art of painting. In the early fourteenth century *Kalpasūtra* palm-leaf manuscript from Īḍar, the æsthetic taste seems to have undergone some radical changes. Islam, through the importation of Iranian manuscripts, taught the Indian painters a love for gold, trailing with it a sense of resplendent glory and immense riches. The indiscriminate use of gold in the palm-leaf, and later on in paper manuscripts, did not in any way improve upon the æsthetic qualities of the art, but it certainly gave an opportunity to the rich Jain patrons to lavish wealth on their religious books which they venerated. There is also a marked departure in draughtsmanship. The primitive vigour of the 12th century is lost and is replaced by a controlled manipulation of fine lines. Even in painting the hair minute strokes

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are employed to depict each strand, a thing unknown in the art of the twelfth century. The decoration is also not merely suggestive, but tends towards realism. In this period of transition, Western Indian art was clearly formulating new art conventions, which became classical in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A natural question arises whether these innovations improved the æsthetic qualities of the art. The answer should be in the negative. The addition of gold indiscriminately used to paint the Jinas and the ornaments give a tawdry and unæsthetic look to paintings. The draughtsmanship loses its primitive vigour, and certain conventions, such as protruding of the farther eyes, the pointed nose and the chin, unnecessary exaggeration of the chest and distorted treatment of the fingers, become regular art conventions to be followed without questioning. The art of that period reflects the wealth of its patrons, but is devoid of that æsthetic vigour which alone gives art its permanent values.

There are certain art critics, however, who, in the first flush of the newly made discovery of Western Indian painting, have been rather too generous in their appraisal of its æsthetic merits. We quote the opinion of Dr. Coomaraswamy, our pre-eminent art critic :

" The art is one of pure draughtsmanship ; the pictures are brilliant statements of the facts of the epic (the life of Mahāvīra, like the *Buddha-charita*, is essentially an epic), where every incident is seen in the light of eternity. To call this pure drawing, implies that it is an art of symbols and indifferent to representation. On the other hand, it is not calligraphic, that is to say, that elegance or an elegant combination of lines is not deliberately sought, and in this sense the drawing is more like script (such as that of the accompanying text) made to be clearly and easily read. There is no preoccupation with pattern, colour, or texture for their own sake ; but these are achieved with inevitable assurance in a way that could not have been the case had they been directly sought. The drawing has in fact the perfect equilibrium of a mathematical equation, or a page of composer's score. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity, text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same dogma in the same key."

" The physical peculiarity in the delineation of human forms, particularly the angularity of the features, and the projection of the farther eye, are incidents of local colour independent of the quality of the art, the inevitable stigmata of time and place. In a wider sense the same applies to physical peculiarities such as the broad chest (often so much exaggerated that a distinction of the male from the female is almost lost) and lion waist, and the large eyes with their corners extended to the ear, which are the common taste of India and not peculiar to Jain works."

" That the handling is light and casual does not imply a poverty of craftsmanship (the quality of roughness in primitives of all ages seems to unsophisticated observers a defect), but rather perfect adequacy—it is the direct expression of a flashing religious

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conviction and of freedom from any specific material interest. This is the most spiritual form known to us in Indian painting, and perhaps the most accomplished in technique, but not the most emotional nor the most intriguing. Human interest, and charm, on the other hand, are represented in Ajaṇṭā painting and in late Rajpūt art."[98]

The high compliments which Dr. Coomaraswamy has paid to Western Indian painting seem to be exaggerated. We have gone through a very large number of Jain documents, and, except in the 12th century painted wooden covers, and a few brilliantly executed paintings on cloth, we have been unable to see any outstanding spiritual or æsthetic merit in the 14th or 15th century miniatures. Dr. Coomaraswamy talks of the brilliant draughtsmanship, spontaneous in execution, of the miniatures, but we are unable to follow him when he says that the drawings are meant to be as clearly read as the scripts accompanying them. Surely, there is a degree of sophistication in the drawings which mars direct expression in painting. Then we are unable to agree with his remarks that there is no preoccupation with pattern, colour or texture, for their own sake. After all, if there is no preoccupation with colours, then why simple colours are repeated in almost every manuscript, and take exactly the same places they are intended to take. In the patterns as well, a definite attempt is seen in the 14th and 15th century manuscripts towards elaboration, and the careful border decoration of a few *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts belonging to the 15th century certainly disprove the assertion that the decoration is not deliberate. To assert that the paintings are "the brilliant statement of facts" of Mahāvīra's life, or the loveliness of spring in the *Vasanta Vilāsa*, is to give a value to these painting which they do not rightfully deserve. In the estimation of Dr. Coomaraswamy, even the physical peculiarities are incidents of local colour, but we have already tried to show elsewhere that these physical peculiarities are the signs of decadence, palpable in the contemporary paintings in South India and places as far as Orissa and Burma. Surely, decadence could never become primitive. Then, Dr. Coomaraswamy talks of the perfect equilibrium of a mathematical equation in drawing. If he means thereby that the drawing has a mathematical sense, we have nothing to say. Equitable results accrue in the field of mathematics, but in the field of true art, if the same principle were to hold good, then the result will be a constant repetition, a feature of commercial art.

The contemporary observers were also not very much impressed by the spiritual or æsthetic attainments of Western Indian painting. The *Pādatāḍitakam*, a medieval burlesque, had apparently not a very high opinion of the painting of Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra. Making fun of the Gujarātī artists, the satirist bursts forth :

"Here is he painting the banner of the temple of Pradyumna = the God of Love. Lo ! this sheer *dindishness*. *Dindins* by name are they, not much superior to monkeys.

98. Coomaraswamy, *Cat. of Ind. Col.*, Part IV, pp. 33–34.

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Fig. 182

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Fig. 183

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Why again, oh! his love for the Diṇḍikas? The *Diṇḍins* are, truly speaking, spoiling the painting with their own daubs, putting the ink-filth of thin hair brushes on the whitewashed buildings; taking their (mis-shaped) iron tool with very keen edges, they are roaming round palace grounds, active like vermins."

Though much of this vituperation against the Gujarātī artists may be in a satirical vein, there could be no doubt that the author of the *Pādatāḍitakam* was not impressed with Gujarātī painters and speaks with disdain the crude colour daubs and ink blotches in their paintings. The actual examples of Western Indian painting, which have come down to us, show that the *Pādatāḍitakam* is not far wrong in his estimation of Western Indian painting.

But, for all said about the æsthetic disinterestedness of Western Indian painting, there is no doubt, a certain quaint combination of erratic lines and strong colours that gives it some charm. Its naïvety, which has nothing to do with the studied charm of the Mughal art, expresses a great sympathy for the luxuries and loves of the world. It is an art inspired by the bourgeoises, and, therefore, its restricted vision could not soar to spiritual heights; nevertheless, its decorative charm could not be ignored.

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PART III

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PLATES

1. Lotus panel depicting a lotus lake with two *hamsās* (geese) and a man disporting in the lake holding a half-blown lotus flower. Wall-painting; Sittanavāsal, early 7th century A.D.

2. Continuation of the same panel. Animals, such as a bull and an elephant and aquatic birds wading through the lake; one man is plucking lotus flowers, while his companion holds them in a hamper.

3. A group of gods flying in the air with their consorts. The most prominent of the gods is riding an *yāli* (a fabulous animal). The figures show lack of modelling, though traces of the Ajantaesque treatment of the human figure remain. Kailāsanāth Temple, Ellura, 8th century A.D.

4. Vishṇu flying in the air riding a winged *garuḍa* with an extraordinarily long nose. Vishṇu wears a high crown, earrings, necklaces, armlets, bangles, anklets, a *dhotī* and a zone. On either side of the god, there is a female figure representing Lakshmī and Bhūdevī riding on Gandharvīs with the bodies of a horse. There are some other figures which are partially damaged. Kailāsanāth Temple, Ellura, middle layer.

5. Śiva riding on a bull followed by a number of *gaṇas*. Notice the angularity in drawing, the pointed nose and chin. Kailāsanāth Temple, Ellura, middle layer.

6. Cavalry on the march, followed by infantry with drawn up swords. The riders wear half sleeved tunics and shorts and riding boots, and are equipped with armours. The foot-soldiers wear short loin-cloth. Their hair is tied at the top of the head in the shape of a bun secured tight with the ribbons. They all wear moustaches and close cropped beards. Kailāsanāth temple, Ellura, top layer. 11th century A.D.

7. A Digambara monk in procession. On the left, womenfolk are carrying the auspicious symbols, such as pitchers, an image, etc., accompanied by foot-soldiers equipped with lances and round shields. These women and soldiers are apparently welcoming a Jain monk being carried on a palanquin followed by the soldiers. The women wear short *sārīs* and transverse scarves worn across their chests covering their breasts. The soldiers wear shorts. Kailāsanāth temple, Ellura, top layer, 11th century A.D.

8. Flying Vidyādharas. They wear three pointed *mukuṭas*, shorts, *kamarbands* and ornaments. Notice the close cropped beards, the pointed nose and the farther eyes protruding into space. Vishṇu temple, Madanpur, 12th century.

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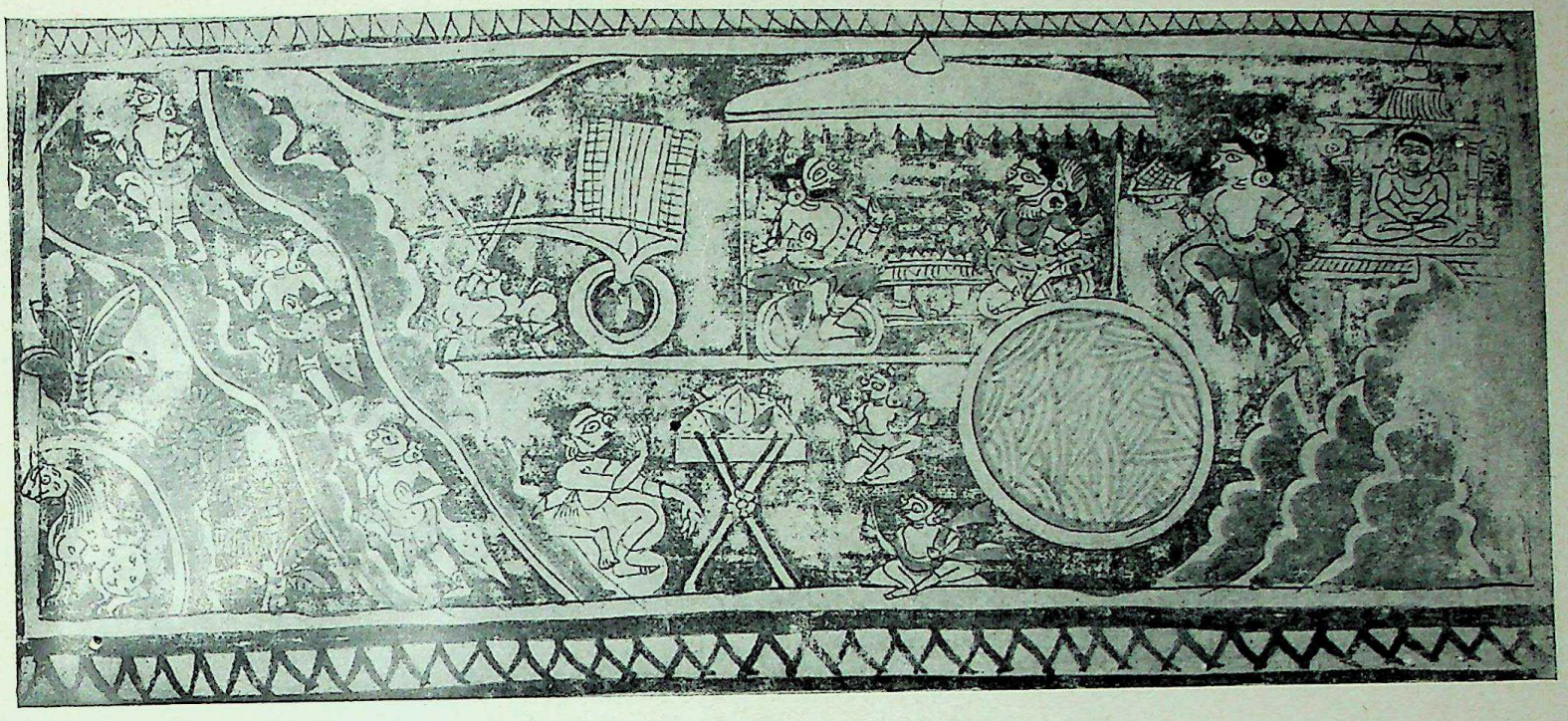

Fig. 184

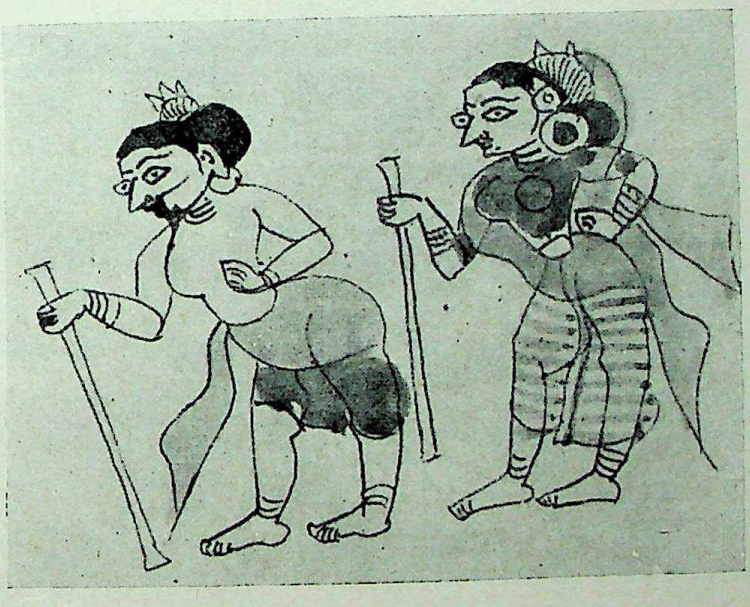

Fig. 185

Fig. 186

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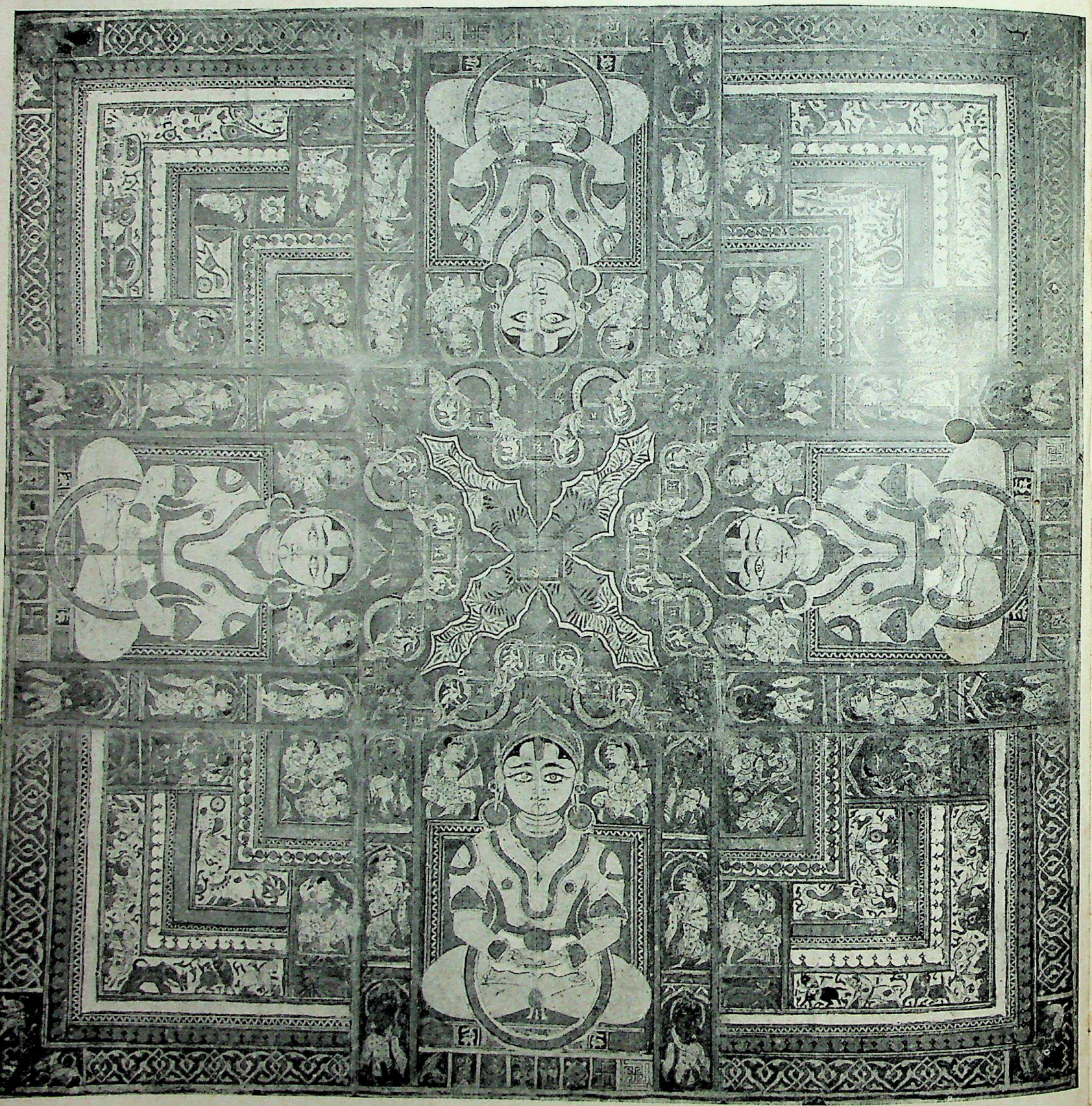

Fig. 187

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9. The Devatās and the Kimpurusḥas flying in the air. A part from the *Lakshmīśvara maṇḍapa* panel, Tirumalai. In the right lower corner, a winged bird and beaked Devatās (of the Vyantara class) with the drum and extended arms floating in the clouds. 12th century A.D.

10. The death of the Buddha. From a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* from Bengal, 12th century A.D. The Buddha is lying on a couch well decorated with a green bedspread. In the background may be seen a *stūpa* painted in white, with an attendant sheltering it with an umbrella. In the foreground are two disciples. Colours : red, yellow, white, green and blue.

11. Vāmāchārī gods. Wall-painting from Payathon-zu temple. Pagan. Burma, 12th century. On the left, the god standing with his legs crossed is embracing his consort ; a lady of dwarfish size stands on his right. On the left, another god is shown embracing two women. The angularity of the nose and the chin is emphasised.

12. A royal procession. Wall-painting from Nandamañña, Pagan, Burma, 12th century A.D. A king wearing a flowered tunic mounted on a white horse is shown. In front of him is a woman holding a floral spray ; behind him are three women attendants, one holding an umbrella, and the other, two floral sprays.

13. Decorative patterns at the end of the various chapters in the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Niśīthachūrni*, Sanghavīnā Pādānā Jñana Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, dated Sam. 1157 V.S. (1100 A.D.). On the left beginning from the top, (1) two concentric circles, the inner circle is dented and has a rosette inside ; (2) scalloped circle decorated with flowers ; (3) three concentric circles, the inner circle is decorated with a rosette, the second circle, with the inverted T pattern, and the third. with the chevron ; (4) rimmed circle decorated with a flower ; (5) two concentric circles, the inside of the first is decorated with a central flower and stylised plants, its rim is decorated with denticles. On the right, beginning from the top ; (1) an elephant within a roundel ; (2) scalloped ovaloid filled with flower, its rims are dented ; (3) two concentric circles, the first circle decorated with a scalloped roundel filled with a stylised plant arranged round a central flower ; (4) three concentric circles within a square ; they are decorated with the chess board pattern and denticles ; (5) two concentric circles decorated with stylised plants, denticles, etc. ; (6) four circles with rosettes arranged on the four corners of a central circle within a diamond-shaped compartment ; (7) three concentric circles decorated with a flower in the innermost circle and denticles.

14. Decorative patterns from the *Niśīthachūrṇī*. On the left, beginning from the top ; (1) on the lower margin, two floating female figures holding garlands ; (2) in the centre of the leaf, a sunflower within a roundel ; on the right hand margin, a thumb-nail sketch of an elephant uprooting a tree ; (3) in the centre of the leaf, three concentric circles decorated with a rosette and denticles ; (4) two roundels decorated with denticles and flower, and a scalloped ovaloid decorated with flowers. On the right, from top

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to bottom : (1) *Pūrṇaghaṭa,* a sacred religious symbol ; (2) two concentric circles, within the first circle an elephant ; they are decorated with denticles ; (3) an open sun-flower within a rimmed circle.

15. Śrī Mahāvīra seated on a throne in *padmāsana.* This miniature is from a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Jñātāsūtra* and three other *Aṅgasūtras* in the Śāntināth Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. The manuscript is dated v.s. 1184 (1127 A.D.).

He does not wear any ornament ; on either side, a Deva with a *chaurī* ; their outspread chests, stiff legs and angular noses may be noticed.

16. Devī Sarasvatī. From the same manuscripts as No. 15. Sarasvatī is four-handed holding lotus flowers into the two upper hands ; in the lower hands, she holds a rosary and a book. In front of the Devī may be seen the *haṃsa.* On the right is shown Śubhankara, and on the left, Desala, offering prayers to the goddess with folded hands. Red background ; yellow used to represent the goddess and her worshippers ; lake green and blue used to depict costumes.

17—42. These miniatures are taken from a palm-leaf manuscript containing the *Oghaniryukti,* etc., in the collection of Upādhyāyajī Śrī Vīravijayajī Śāstrasamgraha, Chhāṇī, Baroda State. Its Cat. No. is 1155. It has 227 folios and is dated in v.s. 1218 (1161 A.D.).

17. Rohiṇī. Fol. 2. Size $2'' \times 3\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; in the upper right hand, an arrow and in the upper left, a bow ; the lower right hand is in *varadā-mudrā* and in the left she holds conchshell ; cow vehicle ; golden body colour ; yellow *mukuṭa,* blue bodice ; blue and red *uttarīya.*

18. Prajñapti. Fol. 2. Size $2\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; the upper hands holding the *śakti ;* the lower hands in *varadā-mudrā ;* seated in *bhadrāsana* on a peacock ; golden body colour ; white bodice ; white *uttarīya* with decoration in black and yellow.

19. Vajraśṛṅkhalā. Fol. 82. Size $1\frac{5}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; in the upper hands, golden chain ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā ;* in the lower left hand, an yellow fruit ; the yellow *mukuṭa* and body colour ; parrot green bodice ; seated in *bhadrāsana* on a full blown lotus.

20. Vajrāmkuśī. Fol. 82. Size $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Deep red background ; four hands ; the upper hands holding goads (*aṅkuśa*) ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand holds *bijorā* fruit ; golden body colour ; blue bodice ; red *uttarīya* dotted with white ; seated on an elephant vehicle in *bhadrāsana.*

21. Chakreśvarī. Fol. 83. Size $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Deep red background ; four hands holding discs (*chakras*) ; golden body ; golden *mukuṭa ;* blue bodice ; white *uttarīya* with black borders ; seated on Garuḍa in *bhadrāsana.*

22. Purushadattā. The giver of boons to men. Fol. 83. Size $1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Dark red back-ground ; four hands ; in the upper right hand, a sword, and in the left hand, a shield ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā* and in the left hand, a *bijorā* fruit ; golden

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body colour and *mukuṭa ;* blue bodice ; red *uttarīya* dotted with white ; mounted on a she-buffalo in *bhadrāsana.*

23. Kālī. Terrible as death to enemies. Fol. 84. Size $1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; in the upper right hand a *śakti,* and in the lower left hand, an *aṅkuśa :* the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand in *abhayā-mudrā* ; golden body colour and *mukuṭa ;* the *sārī* decorated with flowers ; white bodice ; blue *uttarīya* decorated with white flowers ; seated on a lotus seat in *bhadrāsana.*

24. Mahākālī. Fol. 84. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; the upper right hand holds an *aṅkuśa* and the left hand, a bell ; the lower right hand is in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand holds a *bijorā* fruit ; black body colour ; golden *mukuṭa* ; carmine bodice ; red *sārī* decorated with rosettes ; seated on the *purusha* in *bhadrāsana.*

25. Gaurī. Fol. 85. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; in the upper right hand, a pestle (*muśala*), and in the left, lotus flowers ; the lower hands are in *varadā-mudrā ;* golden body colour and *mukuṭa ;* blue bodice ; red *sārī* ; seated on a lizard (*godha*) in *bhadrāsana.*

26. Gāndhārī. Fol. 85. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; the upper right hand holding a pestle (*muśala*) and the left hand, an *aṅkusa ;* the lower hands in *varadā-mudrā ;* blue body colour ; rosy bodice ; necklace ; the red *sārī* decorated with four petalled flowers ; seated on a lotus in *bhadrāsana.*

27. Mahājvālā. Her weapons emit flames. Fol. 131. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; in the upper right hand, an *aṅkuśa,* and in the left hand, lotus flowers ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand holding a *bijorā ;* blue bodice ; the yellow *sārī* decorated with red flowers ; mounted on a lion.

28. Mānavī. The mother of all mankind. Fol. 131. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; lotus flowers in the upper hands ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand holds a rosary (*akshasūtra*) ; black body colour ; golden *mukuṭa ;* white bodice ; ruby necklace ; red *sārī* decorated with rosettes ; seated on a lotus seat in *bhadrāsana.*

29. Vairoṭyā. She pacifies enmity, and is one of the eight chief queens of Dharaṇendra. Fol. 132. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; holding snake in the upper right hand and a shield in the left ; in the lower right hand a sword, and in the left hand, a snake ; black body colour ; golden *mukuṭa* ; yellow *sārī ;* mounted on a python.

30. Achchhuptā. Untouched by sin. Fol. 133. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Deep blue background ; four hands ; the upper right hand holding a bow, and the left hand, an arrow ; red body colour ; golden *mukuṭa ;* white bodice ; yellow *sārī* ; mounted on horse in *bhadrāsana.*

31. Mānasī. Makes appearance when meditated upon. Fol. 172. Red background ; four hands ; *aṇkuśa* in the upper right hand and a full blown lotus in the left ; the lower right hand is in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand holds a rosary

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(*akshasūtra*) ; fair body colour ; golden *mukuṭa ;* blue bodice ; red *sārī ;* mounted on a *hamsa.*

32. Mahāmānasī. Fol. 173. Size $2\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; in the upper right hand a sword and in the left a shield ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā* and the left hand holding a *bijorā* fruit ; white body colour ; golden *mukuṭa ;* white bodice ; ruby necklace ; mounted on a lion.

33. Brahmasānti Yaksha. Fol. 227. Size $2\frac{1}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; the upper right hand holding an umbrella (*chhatra*) and the left hand a staff (*daṇḍa*) ; the lower right hand holding a book and the left hand is in *varadā-mudrā ;* yellow body colour ; seated on a *hamsa.*

34. Kapardī Yaksha. Fol. 226. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{7}{8}''$. Red backgound ; four hands ; the upper right hand holding an *ankuśa* and in the left hand is a noose (*pāsa*) ; the lower hands in *varadā-mudrā ;* blue jacket ; red shorts.

35. Sarasvatī. Fol. 1. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; a lotus in the upper right hand and the *vīnā* in the upper left hand and the lower right hand ; a book in the lower left hand ; white body colour ; yellow *mukuṭa ;* red bodice. The image of Sarasvatī seems to have been very popular with the Jains and the goddess has been painted and sculptured with varying cognizances.

36. Ambikā. Fol. 227. In her right hand she holds a baby and in the left a bunch of mango fruits ; golden *mukuṭa ;* bodice ; *sārī* decorated with rosette ; seated on a cushion.

37. Mahālakshmī. Fol. 1. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$. Red background ; four hands ; in the upper hands holding open lotus flowers with an elephant on either side ready to sprinkle on the goddess ; in the lower right hand a rosary and in the left hand a golden pitcher (*pūrṇakumbha*) ; yellow body colour ; golden *mukuṭa ;* black *sārī ;* seated on lotus seat.

38. Saraswatī. Coloured reproduction. For description *see* Fig. 35.

39. Chakresvarī. Coloured reproduction. For description *see* Fig. 21.

40. Purushadattā. Coloured reproduction. For description *see* Fig. 22.

41. Brahmaśānti Yaksha. Coloured reproduction. For description *see* Fig. 33.

42. Ambikā. Coloured reproduction. For description *see* Fig. 36.

43—45. These pictures are reproduced from the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvīracharita*, dated V.S. 1294 (1237 A.D.), in the Sanghavinā Pāḍānā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan.

43. Hemachandra Sūri (?). In the miniature, Śrī Hemachandra is shown seated on a throne. Behind him stands a disciple with a piece of cloth in his hand waiting upon his teacher ; in front of the Āchārya, a disciple holding a book in his hand is receiving his lessons.

44. Kumārapāla (?). From the same manuscript. He is seated facing the left ; the hands holding the ends of a scarf ; the right leg lying on the ground and the left raised up ; blue shorts and jackets worked with golden designs.

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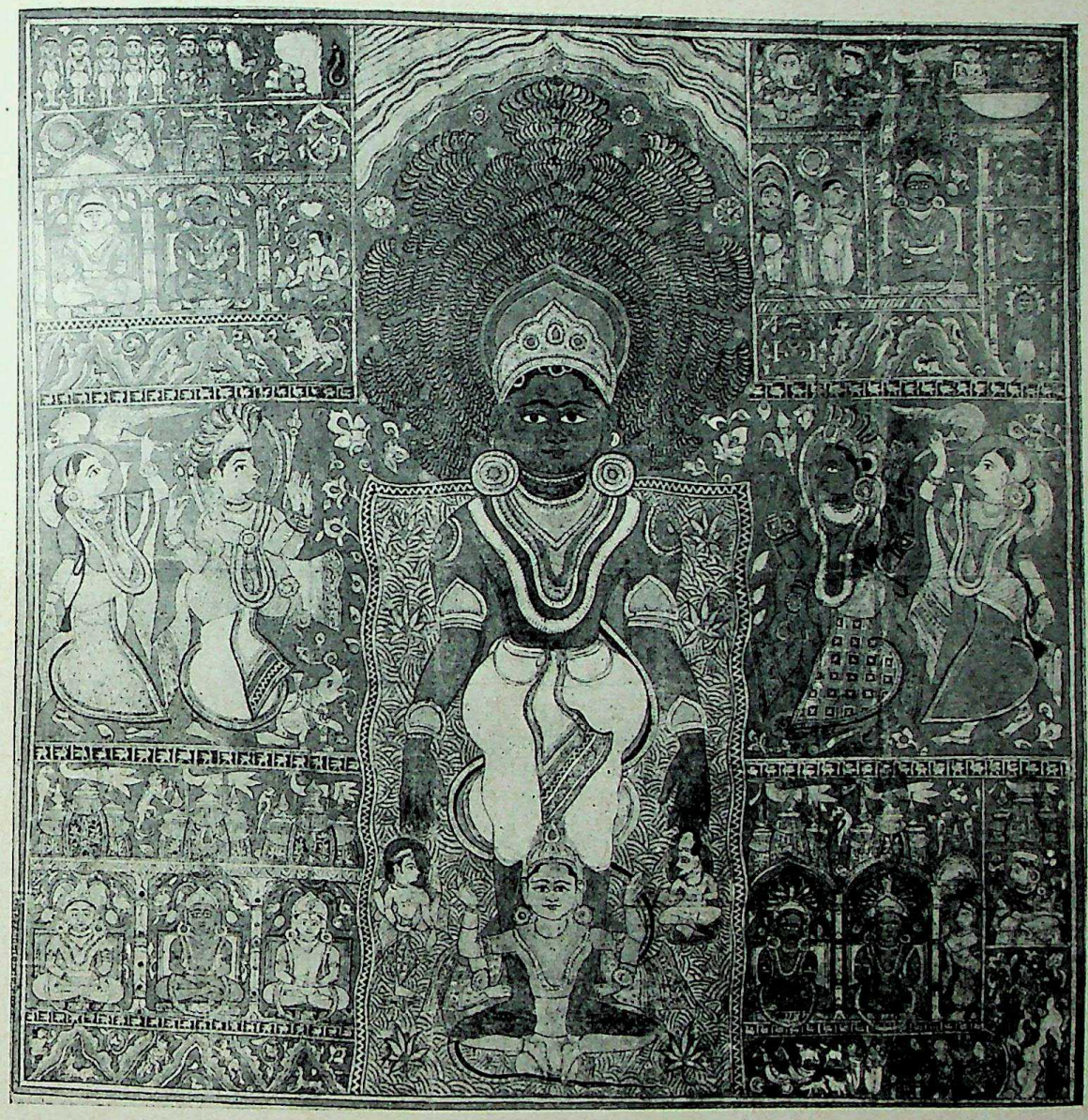

Fig. 188

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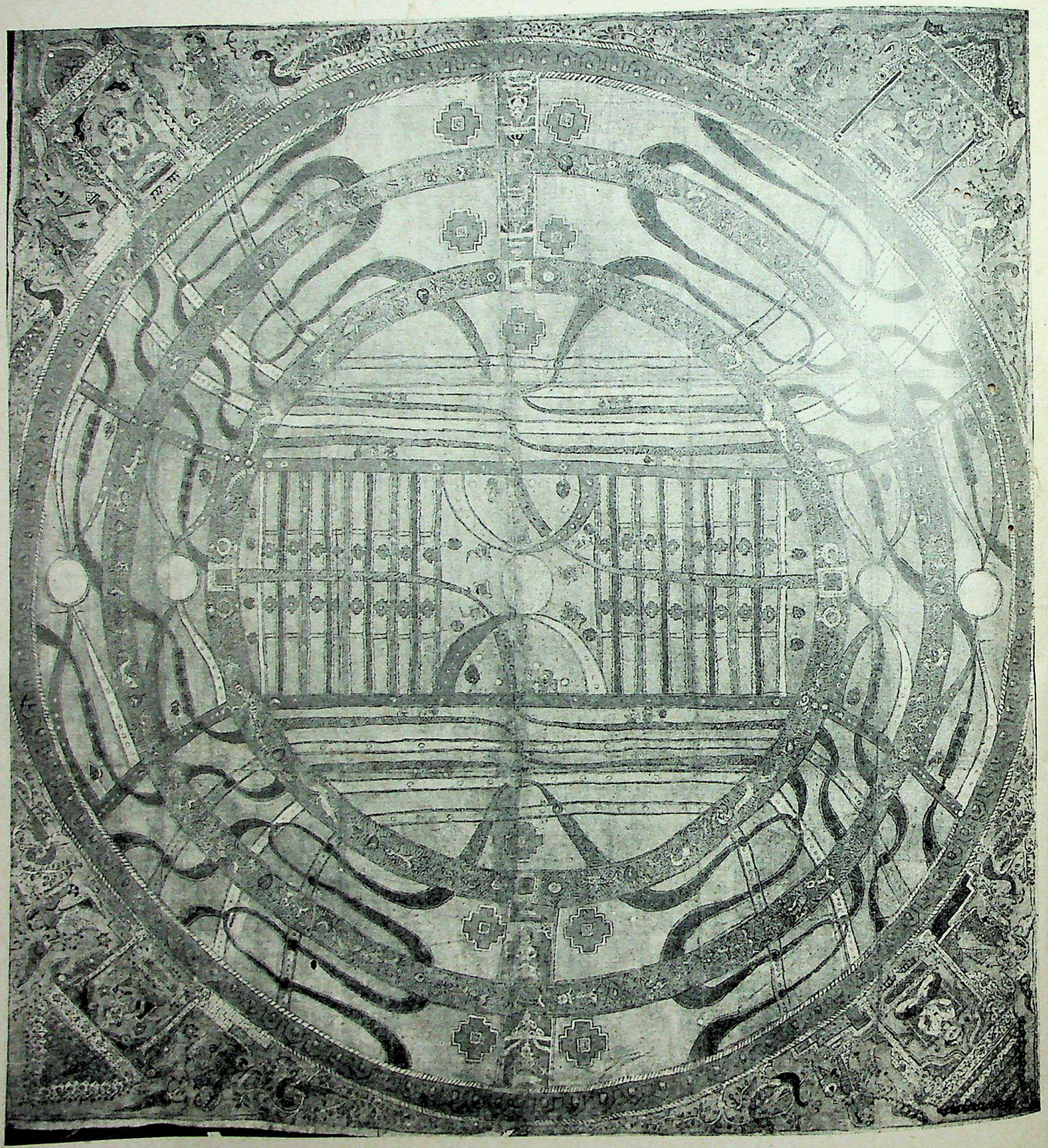

Fig. 189

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45. Śrāvikā-devī. From the same manuscript. She is seated with folded hands, facing to the left; her head is bare; parrot green bodice; yellow body colour.

46. Devī Ambikā. From the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Śāntināth-charita*, dated 1298 (1241 A.D.), in the Śāntināth Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. The goddess is seated on a cushion marked with the figure of a lion; four hands; in the upper hands lotus flowers; in the lower right hand a child, and a mango fruit in the left.

47. A layman. From the same manuscript. Red background; seated on a *chaukī* with folded hands facing to the right; wears *dupaṭṭa* and shorts; a small boy seated on the left in worshipping attitude.

48. Jain nuns. From the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, dated 1335 V. S. (1278 A.D.) in the Saṇghvīnā Pādā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan; their bodies are completely covered with what appears to be *chādars* and *sārīs*; their heads are bare.

49. Jain laywomen. From the same manuscript. The women are seated with folded hands facing to the left; the ends of the scarves held in their hands; elaborate ornaments consisting of necklaces, bangles, earrings, armlets, anklets, etc.

50. The marriage procession of Neminātha. From the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Subāhukathā*, together with other *Kathās*, dated 1345 V. S. (1288 A. D.), in the Saṅghavīnā Pādā, Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan.

Red background; Neminātha, riding on an elephant followed by a soldier, is being received by a man; on the top left, the bride may be seen in the marriage pavilion.

51. Baladevamuni and the forest animals. From the same manuscript as No. 50. On the left, the Muni is seated on a rock under a tree; on the right, a deer and a doe; a few trees indicate the forest.

52. The deer, Baladevamuni and the *Rathakāraka*. From the same manuscript as No. 50. On the right, under a tree, Baladevamuni extending his hands is receiving food from the *Rathakāraka*. On his right stands the deer. On the left is seen the *Rathakāraka* offering food to Baladevamuni. On his left is seen a cart filled with chopped wood and two bullocks. The presence of the aerial car in the sky shows that, after the death of Baladevamuni, *Rathakāraka* and the deer, occasioned by the falling of the tree, went to heaven.

53. Sarasvatī. From the *Siddha-Haima*. Sarabhai Nawab collection.

Red background; the four-handed goddess seated in *padmasāna* is playing the *viṇā* with the upper left and the lower right hand; in two other hands she holds lotus flower and a book. The drawing is full of vigour.

54—58. From the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*, dated 1427 V. S. (1310 A.D.), Ujjamphoi nī Dharmaśālā nā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

54. Mahāvīra's descent from the heaven. Śrī Mahāvīra is seated on a very elaborately decorated throne in *padmāsana*. He wears *mukuṭa*, necklaces, armlets,

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earrings, bangles, etc. The miniature seems to be a copy of some contemporary image.

55. An Āchārya imparting lessons to a disciple. On the left is seated the Āchārya clad in white with an attendant holding a piece of cloth in his hand, the pupil is seated on the right with a scroll between the teacher and the pupil lies the *sthāpanāchārya.*

56. The birth of Mahāvīra. Triśalā is represented lying on a golden cot equipped with a flowered bedsheet and a cushion. She holds Mahāvīra in her right hand. She wears a *sārī* decorated with geese pattern, a scarf covering her coiffure and wrapped round the waist and ornaments.

57. The *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra wearing all sorts of ornaments is seated on a throne. The Siddhaśilā is represented in the shape of a crescent flanked with a tree on either side. The fine treatment of the trees reminds one of similar trees in Sidi Sayyid's mosque at Ahmedābād. The background is red and the Siddhaśilā is white. The foliage is represented blue.

58. The *samavasaraṇa* of Mahāvīra. This is a round *samavasaraṇa.* In the centre is Mahāvīra; on the four sides are forts entered by gates; outside are tanks, one in each corner.

59—78. These miniatures are taken from the undated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Sheth Ānandjī Mangaljīnī Pedhī nā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Īdar. In all the miniatures of the Īdar *Kalpasūtra*, the background is red. Gold has been used profusely for the first time in the miniatures on palm-leaf. Besides gold, vermilion, rose, crimson, yellow, ultramarine, silver grey, purple, white, black, indigo and orange have also been used. The men usually wear beards whose hair strands are represented with fine brush strokes. The manuscript has thirty-three miniatures.

59. The Birth of Mahāvīra. Īdar manuscript Fol. 35. Rosy background; the room hangings are in yellow and red; Triśalā lying on a cot holding Mahāvīra with the right hand and offering some gift to the maid-servant on the right; on the floor may be seen a brazier, footstool and fruit trays. Triśalā who is painted yellow wears a *sārī*, red dotted bodice and a scarf edged with ultramarine.

60. Indra-sabhā. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 7. Size $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.

Indra seated in the *sabhā* on a throne; four hands; in the upper right hand the thunderbolt (*vajra*) and in the left hand an *aṅkuśa;* with the lower right hand he seems to be giving some order; the object in the left hand cannot be distinguished; Indra's *uttarīya* is chequered. On the right is seen a god with folded hands. He is equipped with ornaments, and an umbrella shelters his head. His forehead is marked with the U-shaped *tilaka.*

61. Prayer of Indra. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 9. Size $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. The miniature depicts Indra offering prayer to Mahāvīra after his birth. On the right side Indra bending his both legs on the ground and with folded hands and bending head is offering

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his respects. One of his hands holds a *vajra*. Behind him stands an umbrella-bearer. Three other gods, on the right, with bended knees are likewise offering prayers. Different patterns in rose, green and ultramarine are represented on the costumes of the figures.

62. Śakra's order. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 12. Size $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

The order refers to the wish of Indra to transfer the foetus of Devānandā to the womb of Triśalā. In the centre of the miniature the four-handed Indra is seated on the throne. In the upper right hand he holds the thunderbolt; with the lower right hand he seems to be taking something from the *chaurī*-bearer; both the left hands are free. On the right stands Harinaigamesha with folded hands. The patterns on the costumes of the three figures are different.

63. The appearance of the gods at the time of the birth of Mahāvīra. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 35.

On the right is shown Triśalā lying on a cot holding Mahāvīra in her left arm. Two maids are seen entering the room from the top right; one of them holds a *chaurī* and the other a golden pitcher with which perhaps she intends to bathe Triśalā. On the extreme right corner is seen a maid-servant.

64. The bathing ceremony of Mahāvīra on the Mount Meru. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 30.

The miniature depicts an incident after the birth of Mahāvīra. It is related that Indra took the child Mahāvīra on Meru and there he was bathed by him and the other gods. So enthusiastic was Indra that he assumed the form of four bulls, and the streams emanating from their eight horns sprinkled the child. In the centre is seated Indra wearing ornaments, *dhotī* and *uttarīya* with the child Mahāvīra seated on his lap; a Deva on either side with pitchers; at the top two spirited bulls.

65. Festivities at the birth of Mahāvīra. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 39. Size $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

In the centre Prince Siddhārtha is seated on a throne holding a naked sword in his left hand, giving some orders to the household officers. Behind the throne, there is a female *chaurī*-bearer. On the right, there are two officers standing with folded hands. Room hangings and the royal umbrella are also represented.

66. Relatives and Rājā Siddhārtha. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 40. Size $3'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

Siddhārtha is seated on the left holding a naked sword in the right hand. He wears *mukuṭa*, necklace, *dhotī* and *uttarīya* decorated with the chess board pattern. In the background, at the top, is a lady, probably Triśalā. On the right, there are eight relatives.

67. Varshīdāna. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 44. Size $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

This is an incident from the life of Mahāvīra in which he began distributing alms from the morning till night, a year before the renunciation. Mahāvīra is seated on a throne in the canopied hall on the left, distributing alms. Here, he is represented with

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a beard and moustaches. Nearby may be seen a teapoy with a tray full of gold coins. Behind Mahāvīra stands a female *chaurī*-bearer. On the right, there are five beggars receiving alms.

68. The initiation ceremony of Mahāvīra. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 46. Size $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

In the centre of the miniature, Mahāvīra, wearing luxurious dress and ornaments, is seated on a palanquin carried by four bearers. On his either side is a female *chaurī*-bearer. In front of the palanquin walk three musicians playing on trumpets and the drum, and behind it walk two drummers.

69. Giving away of half the garment and plucking the hair. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 50. Size $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

In the lower panel of the miniature, Mahāvīra is shown plucking his hair with one hand; on the right is shown Indra holding the *vajra* and showing his eagerness to receive the plucked hair. In the upper panel is shown the giving away of half of his garment by Mahāvīra. The episode refer to an incident in the life of Mahāvīra, who, after giving away all his possessions before the renunciation, was approached by the Brahmin Soma and was presented with half of his garment. On the right hand of the panel, Mahāvīra is shown offering half of his garment to the Brahmin. On the left, a further incident from the episode is depicted. It is said that Soma offered this half garment to a merchant who promised to pay him hundred thousand golden coins, provided that the remaining half of the garment could be procured. The Brahmin approached Mahāvīra but could not dare ask for the other half of his garment, though he followed him from place to place. After more than one year, while walking on the banks on river Rijuālukā, the other half of the garment on the person of Mahāvīra got stuck in a thorny bush and he abandoned it. Now getting his chance, the Brahmin Soma took the garment and bolted. In the panel, Mahāvīra is shown going away and the Brahmin is seen picking up the abandoned garment.

70. The *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 52.

In the miniature, Mahāvīra, wearing ornaments and *dhotī*, is shown seated on a throne in *padmāsana*, attended by a god on either side holding a pitcher. The Siddhaśilā is crescent-shaped and is flanked with a decorative tree on either side.

71. The birth of Pārśvanātha. Īdar manuscript, Fol. 58. Size $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

The miniature is painted in gold. On a golden cot decorated with flowered bed-spread, Vāmādevī is reclining, and beholding the child held in her right arm. She wears *mukuṭa*, a dotted bodice, a flowered scarf, and a tie-dyed and striped *dhotī* and ornaments. A *chaurī*-bearer stands on the right. The ceiling of the room is covered with a canopy; on the floor may be seen pitchers, a flower pot and a brazier.

72. Plucking of his hair by Pārśvanātha. Idar manuscript, Fol. 60. Size $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

On the left, under a decoratively treated *Aśoka* tree, Pārśvanātha is seated on a rock holding the lock of his hair with the right hand. On the right, behind

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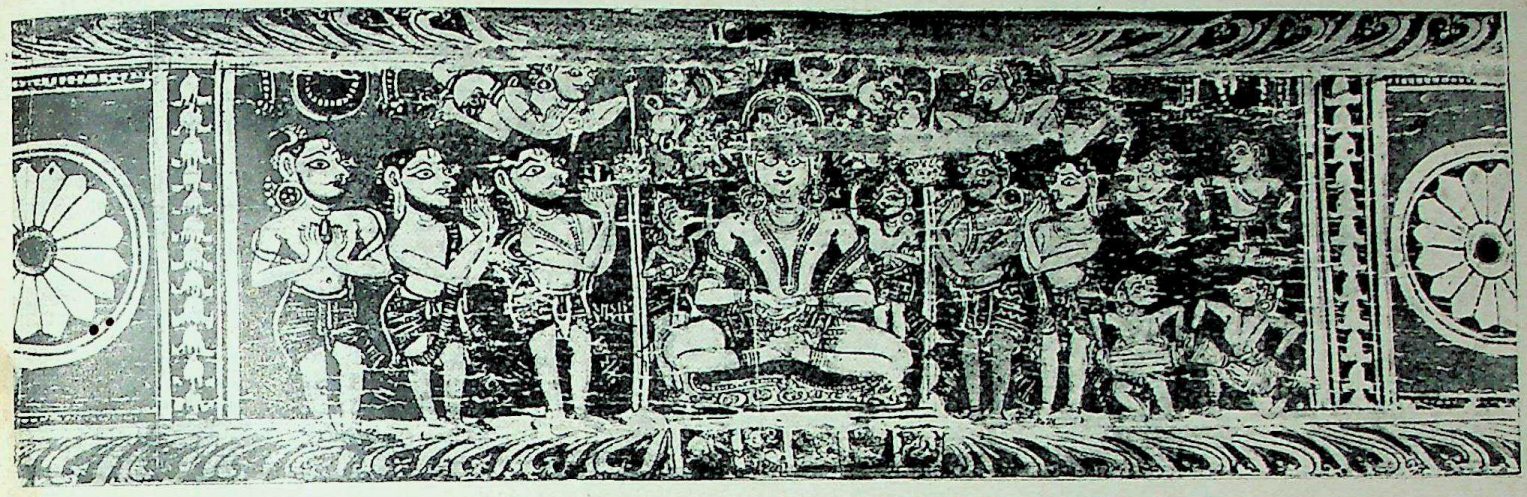

Fig. 190

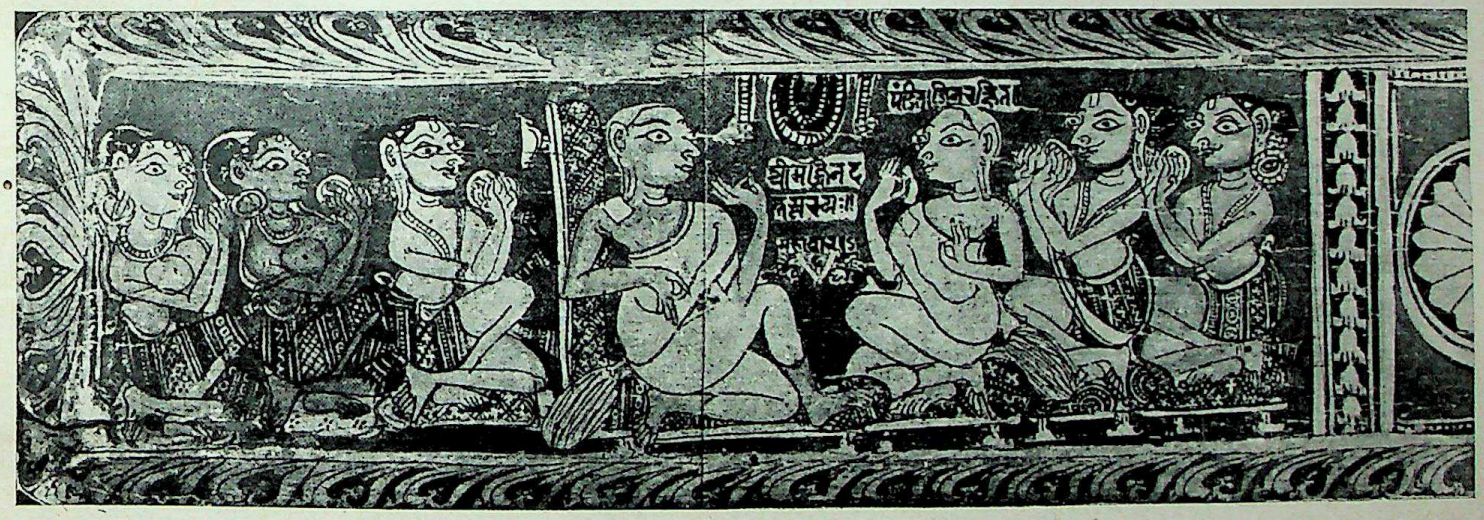

Fig. 191

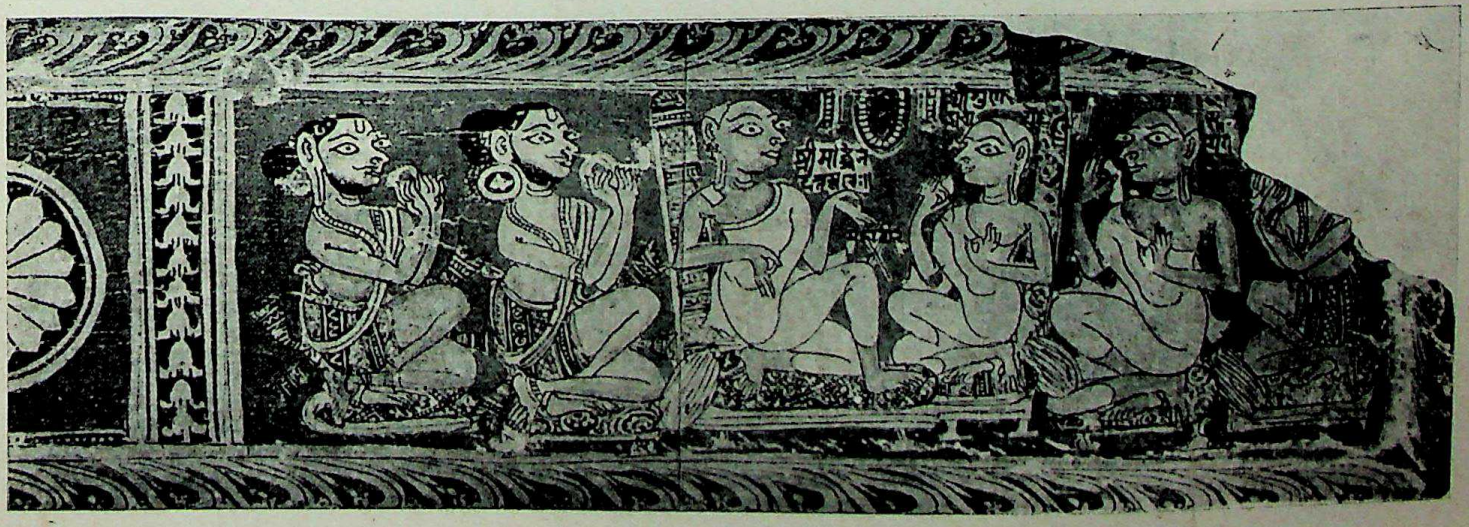

Fig. 192

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Fig. 193

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another decorative tree, is shown, the four handed Indra holding the *vajra* in one of his upper hands, ready to receive the plucked hair.

73. The birth of Neminātha and his bathing ceremony on the Mount Meru. Īḍar manuscript, Fol. 64. Size $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

In the lower panel is shown Neminātha's mother reclining on a cot, beholding the child held in her right arm; on the right may be seen two female attendants. In the upper panel is represented Indra holding the baby in his lap with a god on either side holding a pitcher.

74. The *Nirvāṇa* of Ādiśvara. Īḍar manuscript, Fol. 78. Size $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

In this miniature, Ṛṣhabha Deva wearing ornaments is seated in *padmāsana* on the Siddhaśilā attended by a god standing underneath a tree on either side.

75. The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra. Īḍar manuscript Fol. 80.

The entire miniature is painted in gold. The eleven Gaṇadharas are: 1. Indrabhūti (Gautamasvāmī), 2. Agnibhūti, 3. Vāyubhūti, 4. Vyakta, 5. Sudharmāsvāmī, 6. Maṇḍitaputra, 7. Mauryaputra, 8. Akampita, 9. Achalabhrātā, 10. Metārya and 11. Prabhāsa.

They are shown seated in *padmāsana* within an arcade.

76. Dhruvasena and the Guru Mahārāja. Īḍar manuscript, Fol. 108.

It is related that, in Vīra Samvat 980 or 993, the *Kalpasūtra* was, for the first time, recited in the assembly of the monks held at Ānandapura (modern Vadnagar), when Dhruvasena was ruling. It is said that the recitation was made to allay the grief of the king at the death of his son.

On the left, a Jain monk is seated on a stool, clad in white and holding a piece of cloth in his right hand. Behind him stands a boy fanning the teacher with an unfurled piece of cloth. On the right, the king wearing *mukuṭa*, ornaments, *dhotī* and scarf, is seated with folded hands hearing to the discourse of the teacher. Between the king and the teacher lies his *sthāpanāchārya*.

77. Gaṇadhara Sudharmāsvāmī. Īḍar manuscript, Fol. 109. Size $2'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. The entire miniature is painted in gold.

Sudharmāsvāmī, clad in white garments, is seated in the centre in *padmāsana;* a golden lotus in full blossom is spread before him. On the left stands Jambūsvāmī with folded hands, and on the right stands probably Indra holding the ends of his scarf in the folded hands.

78. Colour reproduction of No. 72.

79–84. Miniatures from the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Siddha-Haima* in the Tapā Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan. It bears the Catalogue No. 19 and has 350 folios. There is no colophon and no date.

It is related in the *Prabhāvaka-charita* (Hemachandra Prabandha, ss. 74—81), that once, while looking at the collection of books in the Avantī Bhaṇḍār, Siddharāja was shown a work on grammar which was explained by Hemachandra to be the work of Bhoja, and contained chapters on grammar, poetics, medicine, architecture, arithmetic,

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omens, dreams, astrology, etc. Hearing this, Jayasimha requested Hemachandra to write a similar treatise.

In the miniatures, colours, such as white, red, black, yellow, blue and rose, have been used.

79. Fol. 2. The miniature is divided into two panels. In the top panel, on the left, is seen Śrī Hemachandra holding *muhapattī* in the right hand and the left hand is in *varada-mudrā;* near him the *sthāpanāchārya* is lying. By his side lies an *oghā* (woollen paraphernalia of a monk). In front of him, on the left, stands a disciple holding a palm-leaf in his hands, on which the first *sūtra* of the Siddhahaima '*Om Arham-namaḥ*' is clearly visible. Behind the disciple are seated two royal persons with folded hands, the top one, as the inscription says, is Jayasimha, and the bottom one Kumārapāla. The top of the panel bears the following Sanskrit inscription: *Śrī Hemachandrasūri Śrī-Jayasimhadevarājñābhyarthayā Siddhahemachandra-vyākaraṇa-nirmāpayati* ' Śri Hemachandra at the request of king Jayasimha is composing Siddha Hemachandra Vyākaraṇa.'

In the bottom panel, the method adopted for the publicity of the grammar is represented. It is mentioned in the *Prabhāvakacharita* (Hemachandra-sūri-prabandha, ss. 112—115), that a Kāyastha named Kākala, who was well adept in the eight systems of grammar, was appointed a teacher by Hemachandra. On every fifth day of the bright half of the month, he used to ask questions on the *Siddha-Haima* to the students of grammar and award them bangles on behalf of the king. The students who had acquired proficiency in this system of grammar were presented with silken garments, gold ornaments, furniture and umbrellas.

In the top of the panel, the inscription *paṇḍitachchhātrān vyākaraṇam pāthyati*, ' the teacher imparts lessons in grammar to students,' is clearly visible. On the left, the teacher, holding a stick in his right hand and threatening the students with his left hand, is seated on a high backed stool. He wears the sacred thread. On the left, between the teacher and the *sthāpanāchārya* on which is lying the manuscript of the *Siddha-Haima*, there are four students, each holding the first page of the grammar.

80. The *Siddha-Haima* carried in procession on an elephant's back, Fol. 2.

In this miniature, two incidents are depicted. In the top panel, on the left, is shown a Jina temple, probably Rāyavihāra built by Jayasimha (*Ib.*, s. 226), with the king standing in the *maṇḍapa* with folded hands. On the right is shown a procession in which probably Jayasimhadeva is shown, mounted on an elephant, holding a naked sword in the left hand and the copy of the *Siddha-Haima* in the right. At his back is a female *chaurī*-bearer. A drummer playing on the *ḍhol* is seen with the procession.

This incident is described by Merutuṅgāchārya in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (III, pp. 60—62, ed. by Jinavijayajī). It is said here that, after Hemachandra had written the grammar involving one and quarter lacs of *ślokas* in one year and had

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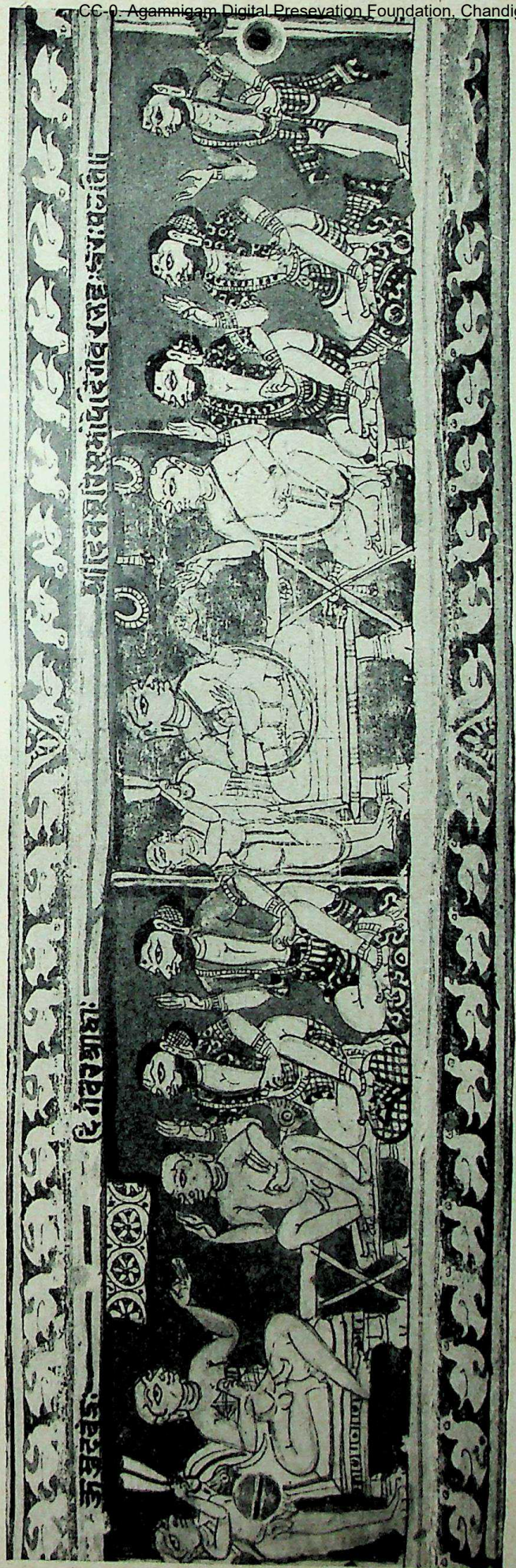

Fig. 194

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Fig. 195

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named it in such a way as to commemorate himself and the king, the book was brought to the king's court on the back of an elephant, sheltered with an umbrella and attended by two female *chaurī*-bearers. Thereafter, it was recited in the presence of the *Paṇḍits* of the court, and, after being duly worshipped, deposited in the State Library.

In the bottom panel, the prize distribution to the students is depicted. On the left, a state officer, named Vira-Kumara, is shown seated on a stool. In his right hand, he holds a sword and with the left he seems to be giving prize to a student seated in front of him with folded hands. Behind the student stands Kākala Kāyastha, wearing the sacred thread and holding a staff in his left hand. He seems to be supporting the claim of the student for a prize.

81. The temple of Pārśvanātha with Śā Vikrama, Rājasimha and Karmana and Śravikā Hīrāde, Fol. 296. Size 2-11/16″×2-9/16″.

On the left is the temple of Pārśvanātha in which may be seen the blue image of Pārśvanātha with a canopy of seven-hooded cobra ; on the right, in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, stand the merchants and a woman, perhaps belonging to the same family. Monkeys are seen gambolling over the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*.

82. Upādhyāya Ánandaprabha being requested by the minister Karmana to order the copying of the *Siddha-haima*. Fol. 297. Size 2½″×2-9/16″.

Two incidents are depicted in the miniature. In the top panel, on the left, is seen Ánandaprabha Upādhyāya seated on a high-backed seat, attended by a boy disciple standing behind ; he is giving lessons to a disciple named Kīrtitilaka Muni seated on the floor ; behind him are seated Śā Karmana and Vikrama with folded hands. In the bottom panel, on the left, are two Jain nuns, named as Śrīpadmakāntigaṇinī and Śrīsuvrataprabhāmahattaramukhyā ; on the right are seated two women devotees with folded hands. One of them is Hīrādevī. It is apparent that the miniature depicts the congregation hearing to the religious discourses of Ánandaprabha.

83–84. The coloured reproductions of Nos. 79 and 80.

85. Goddess Lakshmī. From the *Kalpasūtra* in the Hemachandrāchārya Jñāna Mandir, Pāṭan. Red background ; the goddess seated under a *toraṇa ;* four handed, the upper hands holding lotus flowers with elephants resting on them ; the lower right hand in *varadā-mudrā ;* the lower left hand holding a coconut (?) ; wears green bodice and blue *sārī* decorated with the geese pattern.

86. Moon-God. From the same manuscript as No. 85. Red background ; the god seated on a round cushion facing to the left ; holding the *pūrṇa kalaśa* in the right hand and a lotus flower in the left ; wears *mukuṭa*, an yellow criss-crossed *dupaṭṭā* and a rose coloured chequered *dhotī*.

87. Indra giving order to Hariṇaigemesha. *Kalpasūtra* manuscript, Hemachandrāchārya Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan. Red background with a part of the sky depicted in ultramarine ; Indra is seated on a beautifully worked *simhāsana*, facing to the right,

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in his upper right hand he holds a goad and in the left, a noose, in the lower right hand, a naked sword, and in the left, a *bijorā* fruit; he wears a *mukuṭa*, a light scarf and a blue *dhotī* worked with the geese pattern, and ornaments. On the right stands Hariṇaigamesha with folded hands.

88. Triśalā with her attendants. From the same manuscript as No. 87. Red background; in the upper panel Triśalā is seated on a cushion on the left, wearing turquoise blue light scarf, *sārī* worked with the geese pattern, *mukuṭa* and ornaments; a *chaurī*-bearer in full-sleeved bodice stands behind: on the right, two attendants, one holding a tray of ornaments and the other a parrot. In the lower panel, Triśalā seated on the left is looking at her face in a mirror; on the right, two ladies one of whom holds a parrot.

The picture is very carefully drawn, and the decorative design on the costumes very carefully filled in.

89. The prayer of Indra. From the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript on paper in the collection of Srī Jayasurī, dated v. s. 1498 (A.D. 1432). Fol. 69. Size $3'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. For ref. *see* Fig. 61.

In the centre of the miniature, there is a beautifully carved *simhāsana* overlaid with a carpet worked with the geese pattern. On this is seated the four-handed Indra facing to the right; his elephant vehicle may also be seen near his foot.

90. The distribution of alms throughout the year (*varshīdāna*) From the same manuscript as No. 89. For description *see* No. 67.

Mahāvīra is seated on a throne wearing the *dhotī*, *chādar*, *mukuṭa* and ornaments distributing alms to three Brahmins on the right; a wooden balcony at the top.

91–92. The first and last pages of the manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the Hamsavijaya collection.

91. The descent of Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra seated is attended by the Devas.

92. The colophon says that in Vikrama Samvat 1522 (A.D. 1465), on Friday, the second day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra, when Huseyn Shāh was ruling over Yavanapur (modern Jaunpur, U.P.), Harsiṇī Śrāvikā, the daughter of the Sādhu Sahasarāja and the wife of Sanghavī Kālidāsa, of Śrīmālī community, along with her son Dharmadāsa, got this manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* written, and it was revised by Kamalasamyama Upādhyāya, by the order of Jinachandra Sūri, the Paṭṭadhara of Jinabhadra Sūri, the head of Kharataragachchha.

The borders of Nos. 91–92 are decorated with sprays, floral meanders, decorative flowers and the zig-zags.

93. Borders from the Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra* No. 1. Beginning from the top:

(*a*) A floral meander; blue and red ground; red, blue, white, and yellow colours.

(*b*) Cartouches filled with flowers; red ground; red, white, green, blue, yellow, and carmine colours.

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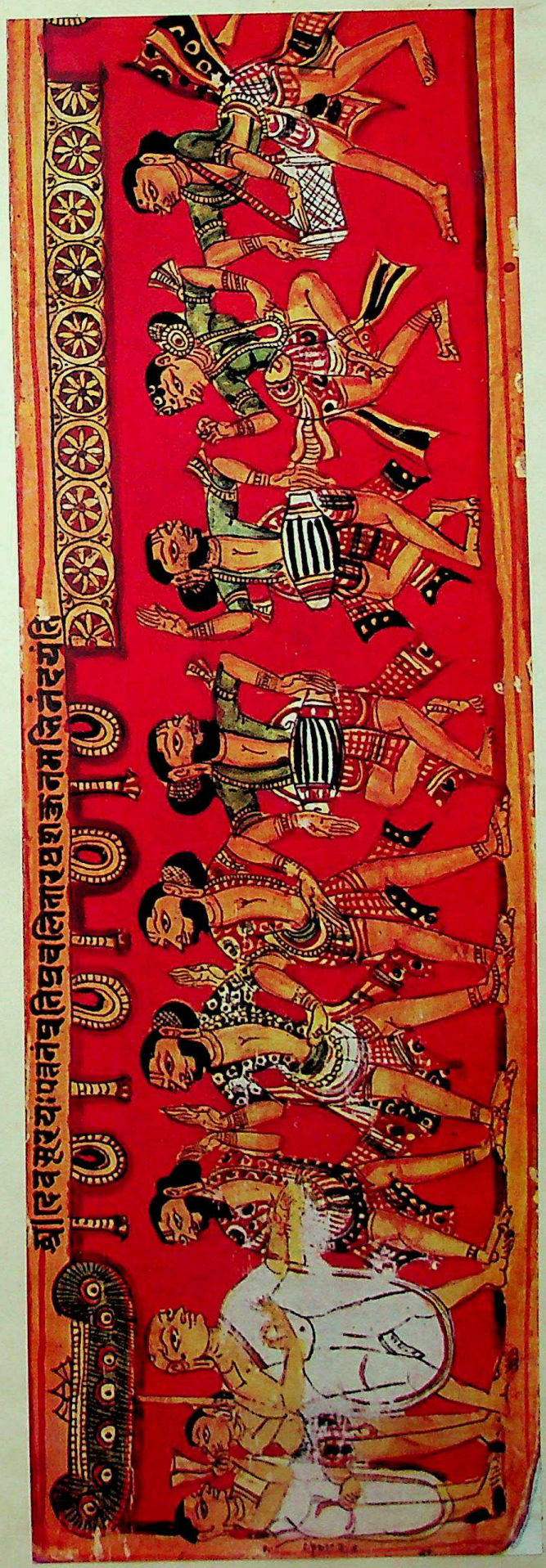

Fig. 196

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(*c*) A floral meander ; red and blue ground ; yellow, red, blue and white colours.

(*d*) Half lozenge diaper and festoons ; green ground ; yellow, white, green, red and blue colours.

(*e*) Festoons connecting the vertical lozenges ; red ground ; yellow, white, red and blue colours.

(*f*) A square lozenge diaper ; green ground, red, green, white, yellow and blue colours.

(*g*) A geometrical pattern (interconnected hexagons) with floral decoration ; green, blue, red, white and yellow colours.

(*h*) Lozenges decorated with sprigs and flowers ; red ground ; white, red, yellow, blue and green colours.

(*i*) Upward and downward facing festoons decorated with lozenges and flowers ; green ground ; blue, red, yellow, white and green colours.

(*j*) A chain of interconnected ovaloids decorated with flowers ; green and red ground ; red, green, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*k*) Interconnecting cartouches decorated with floral patterns ; green ground ; white, red, green, yellow, blue and black colours.

(*l*) Tongues and palmettes ; red, blue and white colours.

94. (*a*) Guilloche ; red and blue ground ; compartments filled with flowers ; red, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*b*) Rough pentagons decorated with flowers ; red and blue ground ; red, blue, yellow and white colours.

(*c*) Square lozenges interconnected with double heart patterns decorated with flowers ; red ground ; red, blue, yellow and white colours.

(*d*) Vertical lozenges with flowers springing from thin ends ; red, ultramarine and blue ground ; red, blue, yellow, green and white colours.

(*e*) Cartouches and other floral decorations ; red and blue ground ; blue, red, green, white and yellow colours.

(*f*) Oblique panels with ultramarine, red and green ground decorated with leaves ; red, blue, green, white and yellow colours.

(*g*) Vertical lozenges decorated with recurved floral stems ; red ground ; green, red, purple, white and yellow colours.

(*h*) A festoon with flowers springing from every joint ; red, blue, green, white, blue and yellow colours.

(*i*) A double intertwining meander decorated with flowers and sprigs ; red ground ; red, blue, green, purple, white and yellow colours.

(*j*) Rosettes with double recurved sprays on either end, alternating with simple rosettes ; red ground ; red, blue, green, carmine, yellow and white colours.

(*k*) Lozenges decorated with flowers ; red ground ; red, blue, green, yellow and white colours.

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(*l*) Palmates filled with floral sprays ; red and blue ground ; red, blue, green, yellow and white colours.

95. Borders from the Hamsavijaya manuscript.

(*a*) Guilloche with the compartments filled with flowers ; blue, red, yellow and white colours.

(*b*) Heart shaped patterns decorated with flowers ; red, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*c*) Square lozenge diaper decorated with flowers ; blue, red, yellow, green and white colours.

(*f*) Cartouches alternating with rosettes ; red, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*g*) Superimposed double arches surmounted with umbrellas ; red, green, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*h*) Upward and downward pointing scalloped arches decorated with floral sprays ; red, blue, green, yellow and white colours.

(*i*) Cartouches connected with a lozenge decorated with flowers ; green, blue, red, yellow and white colours.

(*j*) A combination of palmates and lotuses with recurved stems ; the interspaces filled with small rosettes ; red, blue, green, yellow and white colours.

(*k*) Stepped squares filled with flowers alternating with rosettes from which flowers are springing ; red, blue, green, yellow, purple and white colours.

(*l*) Double intersecting floral meanders ; red, blue, green, yellow and white colours.

96. Borders from the Hamsavijaya manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* No. 1.

(*a*) Interconnected lunettes decorated with flowers ; blue, green, red, yellow and white colours.

(*b*) Scalloped ovaloids connected with the Chinese frets ; floral decoration ; blue, red, green, yellow and white colours.

(*c*) A downward pointing festoon decorated with floral sprays alternating with the heads of geese pecking at flower petals ; green, blue, red, yellow ochre and white colours.

(*d*) A chain of lozenges within decorative squares filled with flowers ; green, red, yellow ochre and white colours.

(*e*) Trefoil decorative arches hanging downwards and joined with a festoon ; green, blue, yellow, red and white colours.

(*f*) An upward pointing festoon decorated with heraldic shields and rosettes decorated with springing flowers ; blue, red, green, yellow and white colours.

(*g*) Downward pointing palmates decorated with floral sprays and rosettes ; blue, green, red, purple, white and yellow colours.

(*h*) Square compartments decorated with double scalloped arches and the geese holding ribbons in their beaks ; red, green, blue, yellow and white colours.

(*i*) A row of white fish on blue and red ground ; red, blue, white and yellow colours.

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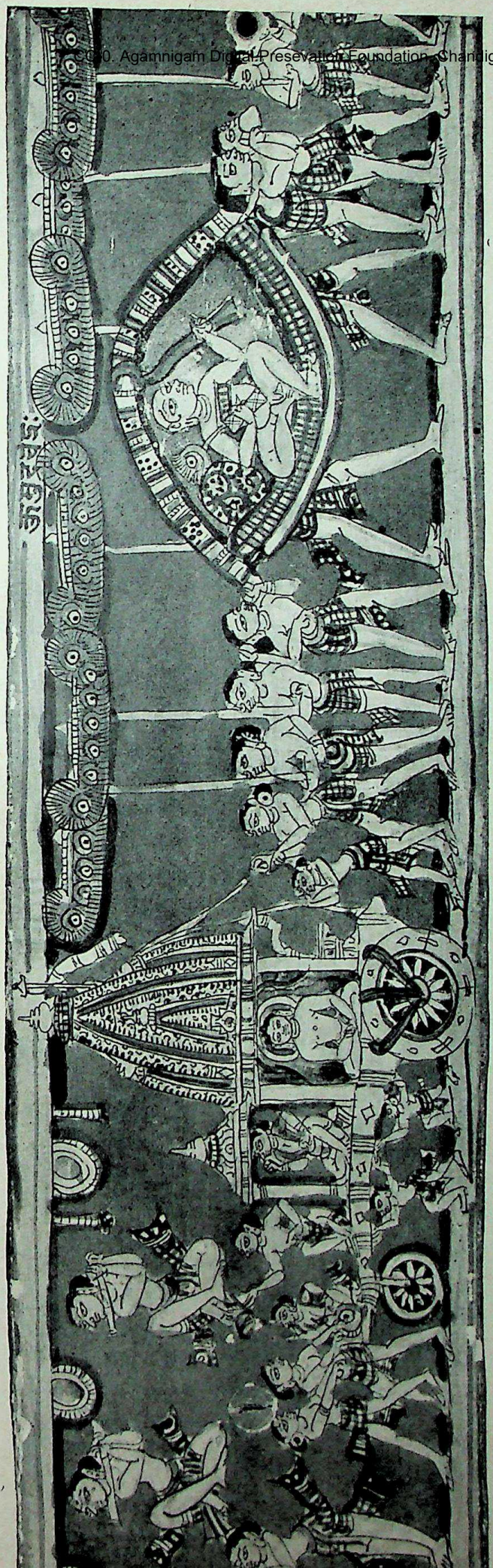

Fig. 197

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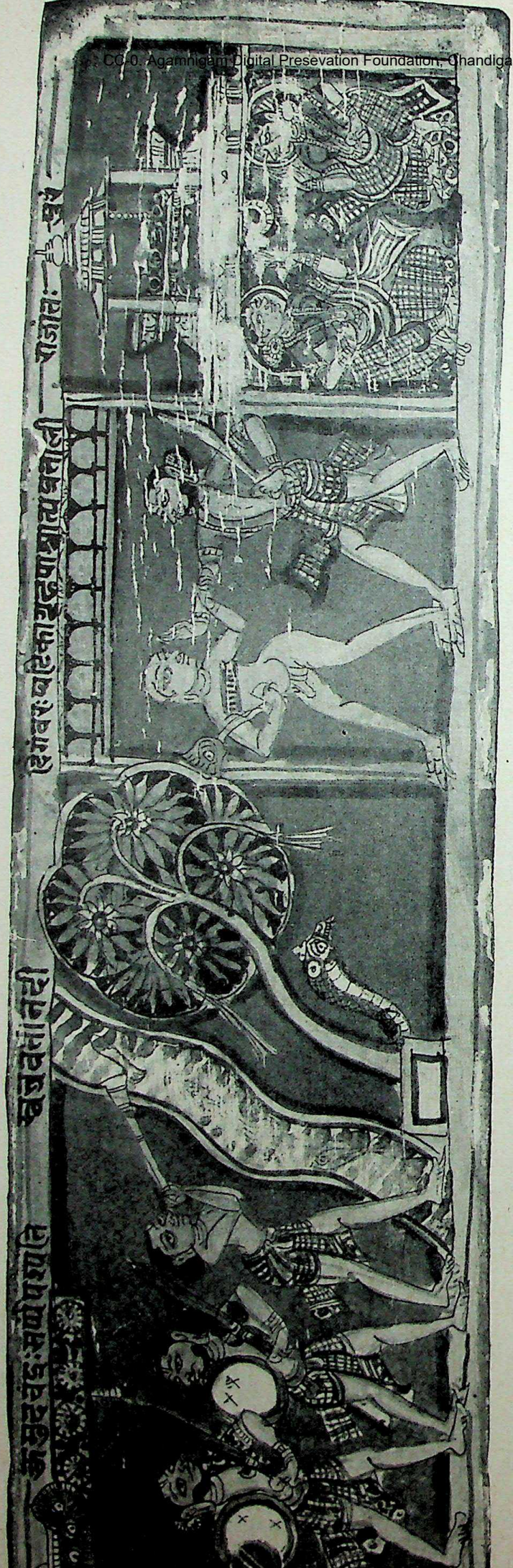

Fig. 198

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(*j*) A row of browsing deer and antelopes; one of them is squatting; red background; red, yellow, purple and black colours.

(*k*) Square panels decorated with the figures of a lion, doe, peacock, horse and a double-headed geese; red, blue, green, white, yellow and black colours.

(*l*) Double-headed geese, a pair of peacocks, geese and another peacock; the birds hold twigs and jewels in their beaks; red, green, black, purple, blue, yellow and white colours.

(*m*) A row of four white elephants walking in the opposite direction and holding lotus flowers in their trunks; red, white, blue and yellow colours.

97. Decorative borders from the Hamsavijaya manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* No. 1.

(*a*) Decorative palmates joined with other floral patterns; red, green, blue, carmine, yellow and white colours.

(*b*) Zigzags decorated with springing and open flowers; red, blue, yellow, green, white and carmine colours.

(*c*) Arabesque; blue, red, white and yellow colours.

(*d*) Two intersecting meanders one made of leaves and the other of rosettes; red, blue, carmine, yellow, white and green colours.

(*e*) Guilloche decorated with hooks and jewels; green, blue, white, brown, red and yellow colours.

(*f*) Floral sprays with their stems marked with thick crosses; red, green, yellow and white colours.

(*g*) Cartouches decorated with flowers joined with square lozenges, likewise decorated with springing flowers; red, blue, white, yellow and carmine colours.

(*h*) A chain of lozenges joined with rhomboidal diaper; floral decoration; green, blue, red, yellow and white colours.

(*i*) Cartouches joined by lampstands; floral decoration; green, blue, red, white and yellow colours.

(*j*) Upward and downward pointing palmates decorated with half rosettes from which flowers are springing; green, red, yellow, blue and white colours.

(*k*) Star shaped compartments on a very effective red, blue and green ground decorated with flowers; red, blue, green, yellow, carmine and white colours.

(*l*) Upward and downward pointing trefoil arches in red on blue ground; floral decoration; red, blue, yellow, white and carmine colours.

98. Borders from the Hamsavijaya manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* No. 1.

(*a*) Geese heads among the lotus flowers and leaves arranged in the shape of triangles; red, green, yellow, white and carmine colours.

(*b*) A row of trefoil arches decorated with flowers; green, red, yellow, purple and white colours.

(*c*) Festoons on blue and green ground; green, blue, white, carmine, red and yellow colours.

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(*d*) A similar design as (*c*).

(*e*) A chain of lozenges flanked with decorative leaves; red, green, blue, yellow and white colours.

(*f*) Decorative palmates, flowers and leaves; red, green, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*g*) Chinese frets connected with hour-glass-shaped pattern decorated with springing flowers; red, green, blue, purple, yellow and white colours.

(*h*) Rosettes and *nagjawāhar* (circle and lozenges) pattern; green, red, blue, white and yellow colours.

(*i*) Square lozenge diaper with long stemmed flowers springing from all the four corners of the lozenges; green, red, blue, yellow and white colours.

(*j*) Upward and downward facing festoons; green, blue, red, white and yellow colours.

(*k*) A chain of heart-shaped lozenges decorated with flowers; red, yellow, blue, purple and green colours.

(*l*) A meander filled with intricate sprays and sprigs; blue, red, white, green and yellow colours.

(*m*) A chain of ovaloids intermingling with trefoils; blue, red, green, white and yellow colours.

99. The coronation ceremony of Śrī Ṛshabhadeva. From the Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 60. Two episodes are represented. In the lower panel, Ṛshabhadeva, clad in a *dhotī*, *chādar*, ornaments and *mukuṭa*, with a halo round his head, is seated on the throne, holding a piece of cloth in his left hand. On the right stand a man and a woman, holding the sacred water in lotus leaves for consecrating the king. In the upper panel, on the left, is seen Ṛshabhadeva on an elephant holding an earthen pot in his left hand. On the right is seen a man holding a pot. The episode represents the origin of the potter's art, given to the world by Ṛshabhadeva. The elephant is beautifully decorated and carries a golden howdah. The fluttering *chādar* of Ṛshabhadeva indicates the elephant in motion. On the top right corner may be seen the decorative representation of clouds.

Colours: Red, lake, gold, ultramarine, purple, green and grey.

100. Brāhmaṇī Devānandā and her fourteen dreams. Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 3. The entire folio is represented in the same size in colours. The page is decorated with borders representing cartouches and palmates.

The painting is divided into three panels. In the top panels, and also a little below, are represented the fourteen dreams, *i.e.*, an elephant, a bull, a lion, garlands, Lakshmī, a flag, a *pūrṇakumbha*, a lotus, a tank, a jewel-box, the sun, the moon, the *Deva-vimāna*, the *Kshīrasamudra* and a smokeless fire. Devānandā is lying on a golden couch spread with a coverlet decorated with arabesque. She wears the *cholī*, *sārī*, and ornaments; her lips are painted red. On the right stands a woman

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Fig. 199

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holding a piece of cloth. On the floor may be seen a brazier, a box, a spouted vessel and a cup.

Colours : red, green, grey, blue, gold, lake, purple and white.

101. Fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī. Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 60.

The story goes that once Bharata and Bāhubalī fought a battle which lasted for twelve years. Indra, with a view to stopping this fratricidal war, suggested a duel by means of stern glances, fists, exchange of harsh words, and staff. The story concludes by saying that, disgusted at the fratricidal war, Bāhubalī turned a monk.

In the painting there are four panels. In the top panel, the duels by casting stern glances and indulging in harsh words are depicted ; in the second panel, fighting with fists and staves is depicted ; in the third panel, the duel with the fists continues, and Bāhubalī is shown having thrown off his crown and holding his hair ; in the fourth panel, on the left, Bāhubalī is standing in *Kāyotsarga* pose in between the two trees ; the hardship of the penance is shown by the presence of insects creeping over his body and birds perched on his shoulders ; on the right stand his two sisters, Brāhmī and Sundarī, in front of a group of three trees.

Colours : red, blue, green, brown, gold, lake and white.

102. *Kosā* dance and an episode from the life of Āryasamita. Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 68.

The story goes that Kosā, having obtained knowledge from Sthūlabhadra, was confronted by a chariot-maker who showed his marksmanship by shooting a bunch of mangoes in order to gain her favour. Kosā, in order to show him his place, performed a dance on the flower resting on the point of a needle.

In the top panel, on the left, is shown the chariot-maker dressed in a blue *dhotī* and a white patterned *dupattā*, aiming with his bow towards a mango (palm (?)) tree ; on the right, Kosā is shown dancing on the point of a needle ; she wears a richly patterned white *sārī*, blue bodice and ornaments.

In the bottom panel, an incident from the life of Āryasamita is represented. It is related that, in the Ābhīra country, on an island between the Kaṇhā and the Bennā rivers, five hundred hermits lived ; among them there was a hermit who could walk on water. People were impressed at the supernatural attainment of this Brahmin hermit, and looked down on the Jains. The Jains, to gain their lost influence, invited Āryasamita who explained that walking on water was due to an ointment which the hermit applied to his feet. Hearing this, the Jain laymen invited the Brahmin hermit for dinner, and, as is customary with the Hindus, washed his feet before dinner. After this, he went along with the Jains to the river and tried to walk on the water, which he was unable to do as the ointment which gave him power to walk on the water was previously washed. In the meantime, Āryasamita came over there, threw some magical powder in the river which made its banks meet, thus enabling the Sūri to go to the opposite bank. This feat impressed the hermits who accepted Jainism.

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In this panel, on the left stands Āryasamita clad in white with a disciple standing behind ; on the right stand two hermits with grey beards and matted locks, wondering at the miraculous feat of the Sūri. The river is represented by a basket-work pattern.

Colours : Red, green, brown, gold, blue, grey and lake.

103. Indra holding umbrella over Āryadharma. Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 73.

On the top right is seen a Jain teacher with a disciple blessing Āryadharma who is seated with folded hands ; on the left stands four-handed Indra holding an umbrella ; in the foreground may be seen two men, two women and two Jain monks offering their respects to Āryadharma.

104. The four Saṅghas offering prayer at the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 86.

In the panels beginning from the top, there are six gods, six goddesses, five monks, five nuns, five laymen and five lay-women.

The painting illustrates the costume of the 15th century.

105. Triśalā's grief at the immobility of the fœtus. Hamsavijaya *Kalpasūtra*, No. 1, Fol. 29.

On the left is seated Triśalā with her hand on the chin, on the right stand two female attendants ; at the top, two other female attendants.

106—131. Figures of the female dancers in various poses. From the *Kalpasūtra* in the Dayāvimala collection, Devasānā Pādā Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedābād.

106. Top : both hands are turned to the left and the face to the right ; the legs raised in a dancing pose ; wears a scarf, bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; flowered background.

Bottom : The right hand in *vitarka-mudrā ;* the left raised over the head ; face turned to the left ; dress and ornaments similar as in the top figure ; flowered background.

107. Top : The right hand holding some ornaments ; the left hand in *vitarka-mudrā ;* the left leg slightly raised ; wears a scarf, half-sleeved bodice, *sārīs* and ornaments ; plaited coiffure ; flowered back-ground.

Bottom : Holds a *vīṇā* in the right hand ; the left hand in *vitarka-mudrā ;* face averted to the right ; the right leg bent and raised ; wears a scarf, bodice, *sārī* and *paṭkā ;* plaited coiffure, flowered background.

108. Holds a heart shaped ornament in the left hand ; the right hand hanging down ; face turned towards right ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; plaited coiffure.

109. The right hand hanging down with the outstretched palm ; the left hand upraised ; the face turned to the left ; one leg bent and the other upraised ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī* and ornaments.

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110. The right hand upraised, the left hanging down ; the face turned to the right ; the right leg slightly bent, the left bent and upraised ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; plaited coiffure.

111. The right hand hanging down with the outstretched palm ; the left hand raised in the attitude of protection ; the face turned to the left ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; plaited coiffure.

112. The right hand hanging down ; the left raised over the head with the upturned palm ; the face turned to the left ; one leg bent, the other bent and upraised ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; plaited coiffure.

113. The right hand at the chest with the outstretched palm ; the left holding some round object ; one leg fully bent and upraised, the other bent ; face turned towards the right ; wears a half-sleeved bodice, *sārī* and ornaments ; plaited coiffure.

114. The right hand hanging free ; the left hand holds some indistinguishable object ; one leg bent, the other slightly bent and raised ; the face turned to the right ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; a plaited and looped coiffure ; a circular mark on the forehead.

115. The right hand bent at the elbow with the outstretched palm ; the left hand crossing the chest with the upraised palm ; the face turned to the left ; wears trousers (*pāijāmah*), a thin *sārī*, a full sleeved bodice and ornaments ; a circular mark on the forehead.

116. Both the hands bent at the elbows and upraised ; the face turned to the right ; wears a full sleeved bodice, *sārī*, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; an elaborate coiffure ; a circular mark on the forehead.

117. The right hand in *vitarka-mudrā*, the left holding some indistinguishable object ; the face turned to the left ; wears a full sleeved bodice, skirt, *paṭkā* and ornaments ; an elaborate coiffure.

118. The right hand at the chest, the left bent and raised ; the face turned to the right ; wears a full sleeved bodice, elaborately decorated skirt, *chādar* and ornaments ; an elaborate coiffure ; a circular mark on the forehead.

119. The right hand bent and outstretched ; the left hand raised over the head with the outstretched palm ; slightly bent head turned to the left ; wears a full sleeved bodice, skirt, *chādar* and ornaments ; a circular mark on the forehead.

120. The right hand raised to the ear, the left one bent and upraised ; the face turned to the right ; wears a *sārī*, scarf, full sleeved bodice and ornaments ; an elaborate coiffure.

121. The right hand bent and raised ; the left hand in a similar pose ; wears a full sleeved bodice, skirt, scarf and ornaments ; an elaborate coiffure.

122. Bent body ; the position of the hands as in 121 ; wears a *sārī*, full sleeved bodice, scarf and ornaments ; a plaited coiffure.

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123. Both hands bent and raised to the shoulders; wears a skirt, scarf and bodice; a plaited coiffure.

124. Both hands in *vitarka-mudrā* raised to the shoulders; the face slightly turned to the right; wears a white skirt, patterned scarf and *paṭkā*.

125. Both hands hanging down; facing to the front; wears a full sleeved bodice. *sārī*, scarf and ornaments; the hair covered with a crown.

126. The right hand bent with the palm turned inward in *vitarka-mudrā*; the left hand bent and raised; the face turned to the left; wears a skirt over the trousers, a full sleeved bodice and ornaments.

127. The right hand holding the tasselled end of the plaited coiffure, the left holding a circular object; the face turned to the right; the costume same as in 126.

128. The right hand touching the ear, the left bent and upraised; the face turned to the right; wears a skirt, scarf and full sleeved bodice; a plaited coiffure.

129. The right hand holding some indistinguishable object; the left touching the plaited coiffure; the face turned to the left; wears an elaborately worked skirt, scarf and bodice.

130. The right hand touching the coiffure, the left holding a spray; the face turned to the left; an elaborately patterned *sārī*; a plaited coiffure.

131. The right hand bent with the palm extended, the left hand holding the plaited coiffure; wears a *sārī*, *paṭkā*, a full sleeved bodice and ornaments.

132–135. Illustrations from the Devasānāpāḍā *Kalpasūtra*. They illustrate (1) the *Pūrṇakumbha* decorated with two dancing figures; (2) a woman riding a fabulous animal made entirely out of the figures of women; (3) an elephant made of the figures of women ridden by a king; the driver, the standard-bearer and the attendant are all women; (4) a cart entirely made of the figures of women.

136. The former lives of Chaṇḍakauśika. Devasānāpādā *Kalpasūtra*.

It is related that Mahāvīra on his way from Morāka to Śvetāmbī met the terrible serpent, Chaṇḍa-kauśika, in the hermitage of Kanakakhala. This serpent, in the former life, was a very temperamental Sādhu. Once it so happened that he inadvertently crushed a frog under his feet while walking. Reminded of this sin by his disciple he flew in temper and ran to attack him, but in doing so he dashed against a pillar and died. Then he was born as a god, and afterwards came to the earth under the name of Chaṇḍakauśika, the head of five hundred hermits. He was a very temperamental man who lost his temper at the sight of the people plucking flowers and fruits from the hermitage garden. Once he ran after some princes while they were plucking fruits, fell in the well and died. He was later on born as a serpent and began to live in his former hermitage. Mahāvīra, after reaching his hermitage, engaged himself in meditation.

On the left side, two episodes from the life of Chaṇḍakauśika are represented. In the upper panel, Chaṇḍakauśika treading on a frog, his running after his disciple,

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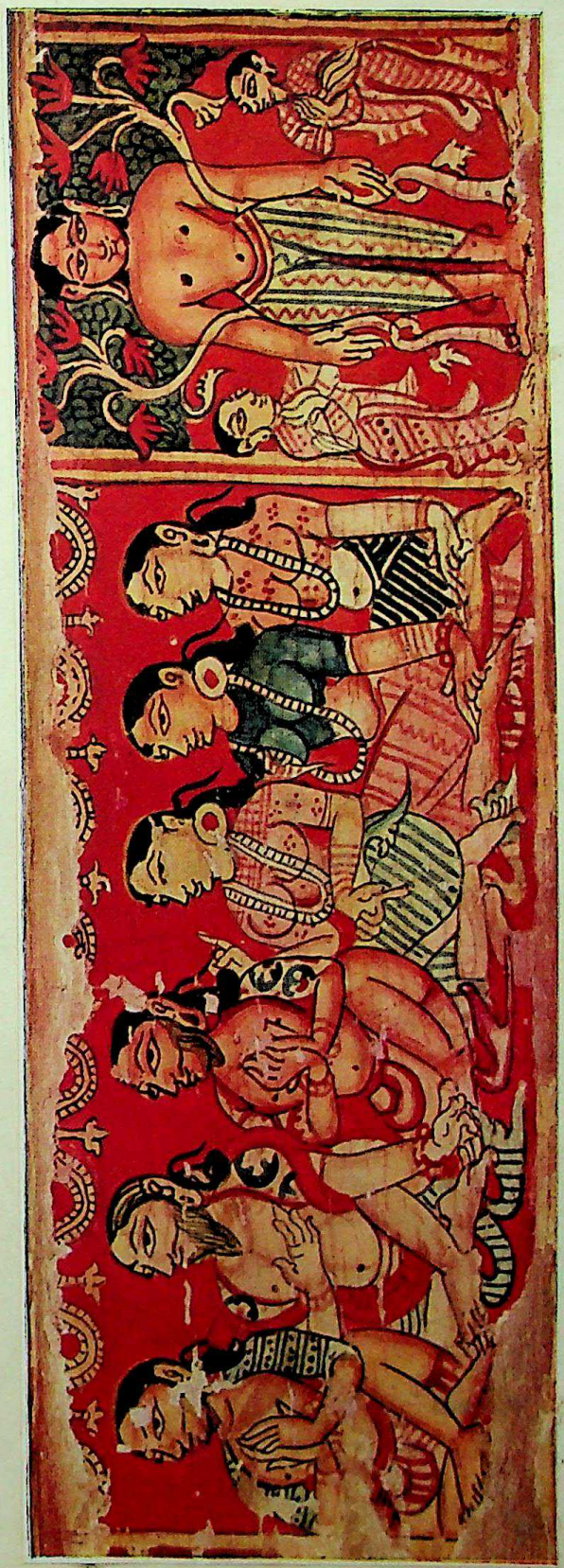

Fig. 200

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and the pillar against which he dashed are all represented. In the lower panel Chaṇḍakauśika is shown as a god riding on an aerial car; his fall from the heaven and his transformation into a snake are also shown. On the right, the pacification of Chaṇḍakauśika by Mahāvīra is shown. Māhavīra is standing near Chaṇḍakauśika's hole in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with the serpent enturning his body. In the decorative borders the following motifs are represented.

Top: a row of six elephants; bottom: five horsemen and one footsoldier well equipped with weapons, engaged in a fight. Both sides: Fighting scenes at the top, and the tanks with four persons taking bath at the bottom.

Colours: Red, ultramarine, yellow, gold, purple, silver gray, green, black, brown, white, etc.

137–138. Decorative borders from the stray leaves of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Sarabhai Nawab.

139—141. Decorative borders depicting dancing figures from the *Kalpasūtra* No. 2, from the Hamsavijayajī collection, Ātmānand Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroḍa. The figures are crude and of much inferior workmanship than the similar figures in the Devasānāpādā *Kalpasūtra*. *See* Nos. 106—131.

142–146. Decorative borders from the *Kalpasūtra*, No. 2, from the Hamsavijaya collection, Ātmānand Jñāna Bhaṇḍār.

142. From the top:

(*a*) A decorative festoon facing upward decorated with palmates and flowers.
(*b*) Square lozenges decorated with a complex maze of flowers and leaves.
(*c*) A chain of onion-shaped compartments filled with flowers.
(*d*) Cartouches altering with square lozenges decorated with flowers and leaves.
(*e*) Chequers and lozenges decorated with flowers.
(*f*) Chains of scalloped circles filled with floral designs.
(*g*) A double festoon decorated with the palmate and honeysuckle.
(*h*) A chain of rosettes joined with vertically placed double lozenges.
(*i*) Hearts and lozenges decorated with palmates.
(*j*) Guilloche.
(*k*) An upward facing festoon decorated with hearts, palmates and lilies.
(*l*) A chain of hearts decorated with palmates.
(*m*) Stepped squares.
(*n*) A lotus meander decorated with flowers and geese.
(*o*) A pattern adopted from room hangings.
(*p*) Flowers with bifurcated twigs.
(*q*) A chain of garland-bearers.

143. From the top:

(*a–b*) Sacred symbols.
(*c–d*) Rows of geese.

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(*e–f*) Rows of galloping and trotting horses.
(*g*) Elephants, horses and lozenges.
(*h*) A row of running elephants.
(*i*) Fighting pairs of elephants under trefoil arches.
(*j–k*) Rows of stately elephants.
(*l*) The Maltese-cross alternating with rosettes.
(*m*) Peculiarly shaped square rosettes decorated with flowers.
(*n*) An arabesque.
(*o*) Two chains of circles with rosettes on flowered ground.

144. From the top :
(*a*) A flowered diaper.
(*b*) A lotus meander decorated with the figures of geese.
(*c*) A chain of vertical lozenges decorated with rosettes.
(*d*) A pair of geese under scalloped arches.
(*e*) Sunflowers alternating with geese.
(*f*) Lozenges decorated with the sunflower.
(*g*) Lotus sprays.
(*h*) A sunflower diaper.
(*i*) Curiously shaped lozenges flanked with sunflowers.
(*j*) Compartments with lozenges filled with rosettes.
(*k*) A floral diaper.
(*l*) Lozenges alternating with the Chinese frets.
(*m*) Lozenges alternating with the circles decorated with rosettes.
(*n–o*) A chain of axe-head-shaped compartments decorated with flowers.
(*p*) A floral meander.

145. From the top :
(*a*) A floral meander.
(*b*) A double floral meander.
(*c*) Super-imposed floral sprays.
(*d*) A meander decorated with sprays and leaves.
(*e*) A floral meander.
(*f*) Super-imposed flowering plants.
(*g*) Flowering plants connected with heart-shaped compartments.
(*h*) Super-imposed palmates.
(*i*) A floral meander.
(*j*) Stylised arrow-head-shaped flowers.
(*k*) A rosette diaper.
(*l*) Stepped squares decorated with rosettes.
(*m*) An onion shaped diaper.
(*n*) A lozenge diaper filled with rosettes.

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(*o*) A chain of the Maltese cross.

(*p*) A lotus meander.

146. From the top :

(*a*) Sacred symbols and lozenges within compartments.

(*b*) A row of elephants uprooting plants.

147. The initiation ceremony of Mahāvīra. Hamsavijaya manuscript, No. 2, Fol. 60.

In the bottom panel, Mahāvīra is seen being carried by four men on a beautiful palanquin, attended by a *chaurī*-bearer on either side. In the top panel, on the left, Mahāvīra is seen between the trees in the act of plucking his hair ; on the right, the four-handed Indra is receiving the hair in two hands.

148—154, Miniatures from the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript (dated 1466 A.D.) in the collection of Sohanvijayajī.

148. Harinaigameshin. Sohhanvijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 11.

In this miniature, Harinaigameshin is seen flying in the air with the fœtus of Devānandā. In the foreground is represented a mountain flanked with trees. The flutter of his *dupaṭṭā* expresses his flight in the air.

149. Triśalā recounting her dream to Siddhārtha. Sohanvijaya *Kalpasūtra.*

On the left, Siddhārtha wearing *dhotī*, ornaments and *mukuṭa* is seated on a throne, holding a naked sword in the right hand and a flower in the other. On the other side of the curtain, drawn in the centre, is Triśalā wearing a *sārī*, bodice, ornaments and *mukuṭa*, two peacocks are seen on the balcony at the top.

150. Triśalā rejoicing at the movement of the fœtus. Sohanvijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 30.

Triśalā is seated on a swing facing to the right; on her right is seen a *chaurī*-bearer on her left is another attendant with a cup holding sandal-wood paste ; on the floor, four attendants two of whom are preparing the sandal-wood paste.

151. *Āmalakī Krīḍā.* Sohanvijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 34.

It is related that once, while hearing the prowess of the boy Mahāvīra from Indra, a god assuming the form of a serpent went to the play-ground of Mahāvīra and coiled round the tree with which the boy played. At this sight, the boys took fright, but Mahāvīra, quite unafraid, caught the serpent and threw it away.

After this incident, the boys gave up playing with the tree and started a running competition on the condition that those who lost would allow the winner to ride on the loser's back. The god lost to Mahāvīra, and after seeing the prowess of Mahāvīra, accepted his greatness.

In the picture, Mahāvīra is shown catching the serpent coiled round the tree ; he is accompanied by five of his playmates. In the foreground may be seen a winning boy riding on the back of the loser.

152. The giving away of alms and Mahāvīra proceeding to attend the initiation ceremony. Sohanvijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 36.

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In the top panel, Mahāvīra is shown seated on the throne on the left, distributing ornaments, which he is picking from a tray placed on a stand, to four Brahmins and beggars standing on the right. In the bottom panel, Mahāvīra is being carried away on a palanquin borne by four men ; he is attended by a *chaurī*-bearer on either side.

153. Plucking the hair. Sohanvijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 37.

Mahāvīra is seated on the left under a tree facing to the right and holding his hair with the right hand. On the right is seen Indra shaded by an umbrella receiving the plucked hair.

154. The *Nirvāṇa* of Pārśvanātha. Sohanvijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 48.

Pārśvanātha is seated on the crescent shaped Siddhaśilā on the Pārśvanātha Hills flanked with a tree on either side.

155—168. Miniatures from the manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of the Muni Kāntivijaya Jñāna Mandir, Baroda. According to the colophon the manuscript was written at Māṇḍavagaṛh (Malwa).

155. The fourteen dreams of Triśalā. Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 16.

The coloured representations of the fourteen dreams, *viz.*, a elephant, a bull, a lion, the sun, the moon, Lakshmi, a flower garland, a golden standard, a full water-pot, a lotus lake, the milky ocean, an aerial car of the gods, a heap of jewels, and a smokeless fire.

Colours : Blue, yellow, green, black, white carmine, lake and rose.

156. The marriage procession of Neminātha. Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 63.

In the centre, Neminātha, wearing a rosy *dhotī*, a yellow *dupaṭṭā*, *mukuṭa* and ornaments and holding what appears to be a coconut in both hands, is seated on an elephant proceeding to the left. The procession is accompanied by armoured horses and chariots mounted by the relatives and officers. There are also a number of musicians and a dancer accompanying the procession. On the left is seen Rājimatī, the intended bride of Neminātha in bridal attire seated in a furnished room looking at her face in the mirror; she is being attended by two women.

Colours : Ultramarine background ; the figures painted in gold, red, rose, black and white.

157. The bathroom of Siddhārtha. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 29.

Siddhārtha is seated on a bathing stool shaded by an umbrella, facing to the left. On the left is seen a servant combing his long hair.

158. Keeping awake the whole night on the sixth day after the birth of Mahāvīra. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra*.

Beneath a beautiful *toraṇa* on which is perched a peacock is seen Triśalā seated on a stool looking at her face in a mirror. On the left stands a maidservant holding a lamp in her hands.

159. Driving stakes in the ears of Mahāvīra. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra*.

The story says that once, while Mahāvīra was staying in a village, a cowherd left his bull near him. The bull strayed away, and, as Mahāvīra was engrossed in deep

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Fig. 201

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Fig. 202

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meditation and could not reply to his query, the cowherd drove stakes into his ears.

In the centre, Mahāvīra stands in *kāyotsarga* pose while the cowherd is driving stakes in his ears. In the foreground is seen another cowherd and a lion.

160. The giving away of half the garment and the misdemeanour of the cowherd. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 48.

In the top panel, the Brahmin, who had wandered after Mahāvīra to get half of the garment which the latter wore, at last gets it. In the bottom panel, Mahāvīra stands in *kāyotsarga* pose with a cowherd with folded hands on either side ; on the top may be seen a bull and a cow. The story runs that once a cowherd left his bull near Mahāvīra and that bull strayed to the jungle. When he made inquiries Mahāvīra did not answer, and the cowherd had to wander into the jungle for the whole night in search of his bull. When he returned, he saw Mahāvīra seated calmly ; this enraged him and he tried to assault Mahāvīra but was prevented from doing so by Indra.

161. Kamaṭha practising penance. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 58.

It is related that at Benares a hermit named Kamaṭha performed the penance of Five-Fires which excited the admiration of the people. Pārśvanātha also went to see him and saw a live serpent thrown in the sacrificial fire along with some wood. Pārśvanātha, moved to pity, remonstrated with the ascetic and chided him for his false belief. The ascetic incensed at this uncalled for outburst asked Pārśvanātha to mind his own business. Pārśvanātha at once ordered one of his servants to pick out the faggot along with the burning serpent. The serpent, instructed in religious teaching by Pārśvanātha, died and later on was born as Dharaṇendra, the overlord of the Nāgas, and the ascetic, after his death, was born as Meghamālī Deva.

In the picture, two incidents from the above story are represented. In the top panel, Kamaṭha is shown squatting with fire burning on four sides and the sun scorching him from the top. In the bottom panel, the rescue of the snake is depicted. On the right is seen Pāraśvanātha riding an elephant ; on the left is seen a servant rescuing the serpent from the burning faggot.

162. The prowess of Prince Arishṭanemi. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 61.

It is related that Prince Arishṭanemi once visited the armoury of Krishṇa Vāsudeva, and to satisfy the curiosity of certain friends made the discus of Krishṇa spin like a potter's wheel, bent the Śāraṅga bow as if it were made of lotus stalk, separated the mace-head from the famous Kaumodakī mace and placed it on the top of a pillar, and blew the famous conchshell Pāñchajanya. Krishṇa, hearing the uproar, came to the armoury and invited Arishṭanemi for a competition in the gymnasium.

It was agreed that in the competition the strength of the contending parties was to be measured by bending each other's arms, Krishṇa lost in the competition.

Two incidents from the story are depicted in the picture. In the top compartment, Arishṭanemi is shown blowing the conchshell. In the bottom panel, Arishṭanemi

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is standing on the left stretching his left arm ; Krishṇa, who is seen hanging on to it, is unable to bend it.

163. The water-sport of Arishṭanemi, Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra,* Fol. 62.

It is related that once Krishṇa took Arishṭanemi to Mount Raivata accompanied by his queens whom he had given instructions previously to engage Arishṭanemi in the watersport and pursuade him to marry.

In the picture, the ladies are shown sporting with Arishṭanemi. On either side are steps leading to the tank ; a lady stands on either side. In the centre are seen Krishṇa, Vāsudeva and Arishṭanemi. On either side is a tree with bumble bees.

164. *Kośā* dance. Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra,* Fol. 78. For story, *see* No. 102.

In the miniature, the Rathakāra is shown aiming with his bow at the mango tree ; in the foreground is a peacock indicative of the spring ; on the left, Kośā is shown dancing on a needle-point, holding flowers in her hands.

165. The gift of Ārya Vajra. Kāntivijayajī *Kalpasūtra,* Fol. 79.

It is related that once upon a time one Dhanagiri lived with his wife Sunandā in a village, named Tumbavana. While his wife was pregnant, he turned a Jain monk. Later on, a son was born to him, and that son, knowing the renunciation of his father, withdrew all his love from his mother and spent all the time crying. When he was six months old, his mother gave him to his father who put him in the care of his teacher.

In the picture, two incidents from the story are represented. In the top panel, Muni Dhanagiri is shown seated in *bhadrāsana ;* near him lies the *sthāpanāchārya.* Sunandā is shown offering the child to her husband. In the bottom panel, the child Vajrasvāmī is shown on a swing to the left ; on the right, four nuns are seated reciting *sūtras.*

166. The twelve years' famine and the abstinence from food by the Sādhus. Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra,* Fol. 81.

It is related that once Vajrasvāmī, being aware of the impending famine which was to last for twelve years, told his disciple Vajrasena that the prosperous days would only return when they received alms of rice costing a lac. Vajrasena left the place, but Vajrasvāmī remained there. The monks unable to get grain satisfied their hunger by *vidyāpiṇḍa* (magical food) brought by Vajrasvāmī. But, after some time, disgusted at the lowly method of supporting their bodies, the monks along with Vajrasvāmī proceeded to Rathāvarta, and abstaining from food gave up their lives.

In the meanwhile, Vajrasena reached Sopārā where he was offered by Īsvarā, the wife of Jīnadatta, cooked food costing a lac. As predicted by Vajrasvāmī, prosperous days started the very next day.

Three incidents from the above story are depicted in the picture. In the central panel, Vajrasvāmī seated on the left seems to be offering the magical food out of a large bowl to two Jain monks. In the top panel, three Jain monks standing in *kāyotsarga*

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Fig. 203

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pose are performing penance with a view to give up their lives. In the bottom panel, on the left, is seen Īsvarā taking out food from a plate which she is offering to two Jain monks one of whom is Vajrasena.

167. Writing of the sacred books. Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra*, Fol. 84. The picture depicts the writing of the Jain canons under the supervision of Devārdhigaṇi Kshamāśramaṇa, in 453 A.D.

Two incidents are depicted. In the upper panel, on the left, is seated Devārdhi writing on a palm-leaf. On the right are seated two Jain monks and two laymen. In the bottom panel, on the left, Devārdhi is correcting the manuscript; on the right, a disciple holding the inkpot is seated.

168. The pictorial representation of one of the monastic rules. Kāntivijaya *Kalpasūtra*. Fol. 91.

In the top panel, the figure of a woman is painted. It indicates that a Jain *sādhu* should not live in a building painted with the figures of women. In the bottom panel, a Jain *śrāvaka* is offering food to a monk. Three utensils are seen piled on a stove, perhaps the miniature conveys the idea that a Jain *sādhu* should not accept food fresh from the oven.

169. A monk seated near a tank. A miniature from the *Uttarādhyayana*, datable to the middle of the 15th century, in the collection of Hamsavijayajī, Ātmānand Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

At the top, a round tank full of water with a lotus flower and aquatic birds; outside there are geese. The symbolic representation of the tank indicates that as in a tank closed on all sides no fresh water could come, so in a man who has stopped all the passages to sin in his body by right conduct and fasts, no further sins could penetrate, and those which are already there are gradually dried up as the enclosed water of a tank is dried up in the great heat of the sun. In the foreground is seated a Jain *Sādhu*; on either side may be seen a tree. The symbolic meaning of the trees seems to be that, as constant watering is instrumental in the growth of a tree, similarly a moral person grows by observing constantly the right conduct, but as a fully grown tree is prone to wither if watering is stopped, similarly, a human body to which all ingresses to fresh *karmas* are stopped, annihilates the accumulated *karmas* by strict penance, and in the end the withered body attains *nirvāṇa*.

Colours: Red background; gold, grey, green, blue, black and white.

170—173. Miniatures from the illustrated copy of the *Bālagopāla Stuti* in the collection of Mr. Bhogilal Sandesara. This manuscript was probably written in the 15th century and has fifty-five miniatures.

170. Offering prayer to Krishṇa. Mr. Sandesara's *Bālagopāla Stuti*, Fol. 32; size $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$.

Krishṇa is shown seated on a *simhāsana*. His body colour is ultramarine and he wears, the *tulasīmālā* on his neck and the *Kaustubha* jewel on his chest. In his two

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upper hands he holds the mace and the discus ; his lower right hand is in *abhayā-mudrā* and he holds the conchshell in the left hand. A devotee well equipped with garments and ornaments stands before him holding a flower garland in his hands.

171. Taking the toll. Mr. Sandesara's *Bālagopāla Stuti*, Fol. 21 ; size $4\frac{3}{4}'' — 4\frac{1}{2}''$.

On the top right, a woman is shown churning curds ; another is going out carrying a vessel on her head ; on the left stands the four handed Krishṇa playing on the pipe. At the bottom, a *gopī* complaining to Nanda about Krishṇa's behaviour, is shown. Yaśodā is shown seated on the right ; on the left Nanda is shown hearing to the complaints of the *gopī* against Krishṇa for breaking her pot.

172. Krishṇa's love-making with the *gopīs*. Mr. Sandesara's *Bālagopāla Stuti*, Fol. 40.

In the picture Krishṇa is depicted sleeping on a swing with a *gopī* inside the bed-room. On either side, a *gopī* is shown plying the swing. The ceiling of the room is covered with a ceiling cloth (*chandarvā*).

173. Krishṇa's dance. Mr. Sandesara's *Bālagopāla Stuti*, Fol. 43.

In the centre of the miniature, Krishṇa is shown dancing on a full blown lotus. On the left stands a female *chaurī*-bearer and on the right there are two *gopīs*. There are three trees which give the scene the semblance of a forest.

174. Kāmadeva. From the 15th century illustrated manuscript of the *Ratirahasya* in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab.

Kāma wearing a *dhotī*, *dupaṭṭā*, *mukuṭa* and ornaments stands facing to the left. He holds a bow in his right hand and a lotus flower in the left.

175. *Chintāmani Yantra*. Cloth-painting. Agarchand Nahta collection. Size $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 17\frac{1}{2}''$. Circa 1360 A.D. For further description, *see* the text.

176. *Sūri Mantrapaṭa*. Cloth-painting. Sarabhai Nawab collection. Size $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 19''$. Circa 1360 A.D. For description, *see* the text.

177—186. Illustrations from the Jain *Pañchatīrthīpaṭa*. Cloth-painting. Jain Tādapatrīya Pustak Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan. Size 30 ft. by 32 inches. Dated Samvat 1490 (A.D. 1433). For description, *see* the text.

187. The *Samavasaraṇa* of Ṛshabhadeva. Cloth-painting. Sarabhai Nawab collection. Size $21'' \times 21''$. Datable to the middle of the 15th century. For further description, *see* the text.

188. Pārśvanātha with other gods. Cloth-painting. Muni Amaravijaya collection. Datable to early 16th century. For description, *see* the text.

189. Jambūdvīpa. Cloth painting. Sarabhai Nawab collection. Size $30'' \times 28''$. Datable to the middle of the 16th century or a little earlier. For description *see* the text.

190—192. Jinadatta Sūri and his disciples. Painting on a wooden panel. Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Jaisalmer. Size $26'' \times 3''$. Datable between 1112 to 1154 A.D. For further description, *see* the text.

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Fig. 204

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193—198. The story of the disputation between Vādī Devasūri and Kumudachandra. Painting on a wooden panel. Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Jaisalmer. Size 30″×32″. Painted; circa 1130 A.D. For further description, *see* the text.

199—203. Battle between Bharata and Bāhubalī. A painted wooden book-cover. Sarabhai Nawab collection. Size 30″×2¾″. Middle of the 12th century A.D. For further description, *see* the text.

204. A painted book-cover of the *Dharmopadeśamālā*, depicting the life of Pārsvanātha. Sarabhai Nawab collection. Size 35¼″×3⅛″. Dated V. S. 1425 (A.D. 1368). For further description, *see* the text.

205—208. Painted wooden covers of the *Sūtrakṛtāngavṛtti*, depicting certain phases of the life of Mahāvīra. Muni Punyavijaya collection. Size 34″×35″. Dated V. S. 1456 (A.D. 1399). For further description, *see* the text.

209—262. Line drawings of costumes, textile patterns, etc., in Western Indian miniatures.

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Fig. 205

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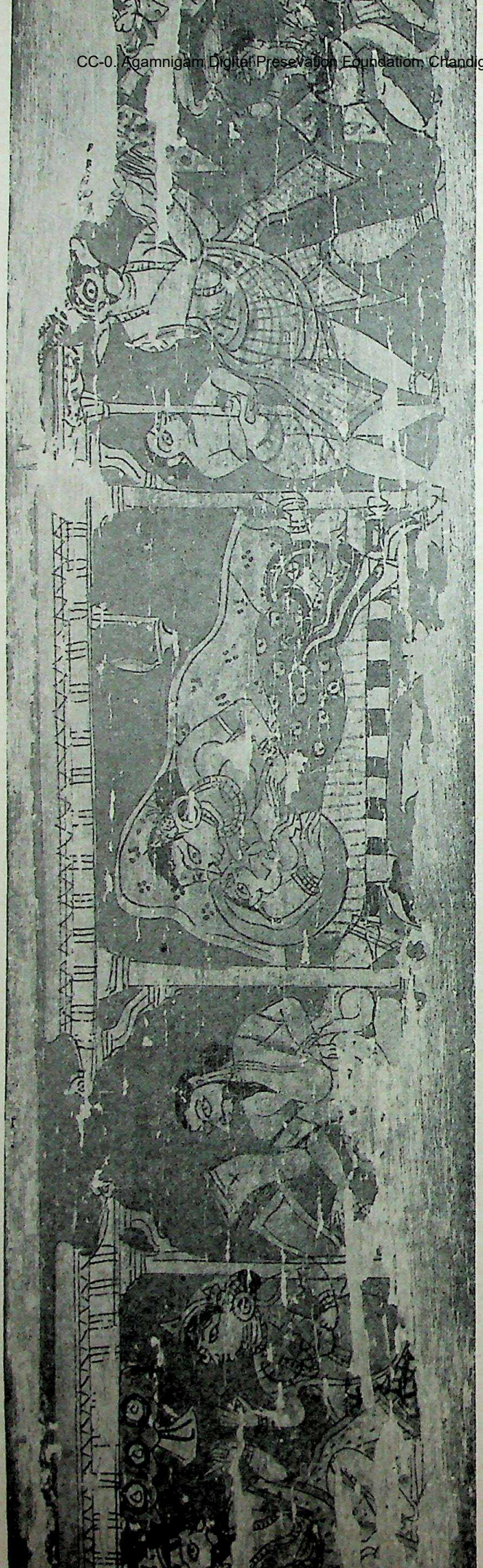

Fig. 206

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AN INDEX OF SANSKRIT, PRĀKRIT, GUJARĀTĪ AND HINDĪ WORDS.

A

Abhayā-mudrā, gesture of protection, 139, 164.
Abjī, reddish blue, 86.
Ábrang, mixture of lampblack and carmine, 98.
Ákārajanikā-rekhā, rapid sketching, 95.
Ákāramātrikā-rekhā, correct drawing, 95.
Alaktaka, lac-dye, 78.
Áleshaṇī, final outlining, 96, fn. 24.
Álto, lac-dye, 79.
Ámalaki krīḍā, a sport, 159.
Amalsār, sulphur, 86.
Ámb-rang, mango green, 86.
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Aṅgula, finger length, 93.
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Aṭpaṭī pagṛī, a particular type of Mughal turban, 44.

B

Bādrūn, diaper, 113.
Baradmutān, meander, 113.
Bel, scroll, 113.
Bhadrāsana, posture of a devotee during meditation, 138, 139, 162.
Bhāsakūrcha, a kind of brush, 92.
Bhāshā, correct definition, 10.
Bhabhūtī no rang, ash grey, 86.
Bhūrja-patra, papyrus, 28.
Bhukharo, deep purple, 87.
Bhūmi, ground, 11.
Bhūmi bandhana, preparation of the ground, 95.
Bhumibhāga, wall surface, 9.
Bhūmi-sajjā, preparation of the ground, 9.
Bijorā, lemon, 52, 148.
Bindujā, dotting, 97.

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B—*cont.*

Būṭā, large flowers, 113.
Butbāndhanā, rapid sketching, 95.
Būṭī, small flowers, 113.

C

Chādar, veil, 2, 53, 121, 122, 124, 141, 148, 152, 155.
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Chhatra, umbrella, 140.
Chakra, discus, 138.
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Chaupatiā, four-petalled flowers, 113.
Chitta-kamma, art of painting, 8, 9.
Chitta-sabhā, picture gallery, 9.
Chittagāra senim, painter's guild, 9.
Chittāra, painting, 8.
Cholī, bodice, 21, 30, 51, 52, 122, 124, 125, 152.
Chūḍī, bangles, 127.

D

Dagḍī, a kind of orpiment, 82.
Daṇḍa, staff, 140.
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Devachhamda, royal dias, 52.
Deva-vimāna, ærial car, 152.
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Ḍhola, a particular type of drum, 146.
Dhotī, waist-cloth, 2, 53, 119, 123, 124, 136, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 152, 160, 164.
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Durra, an Arabic garment, 125.
Dussapaṭa, cotton cloth, 46.
Dukūla, a kind of cloth, 119.
Dvipadī, shorts, 121.

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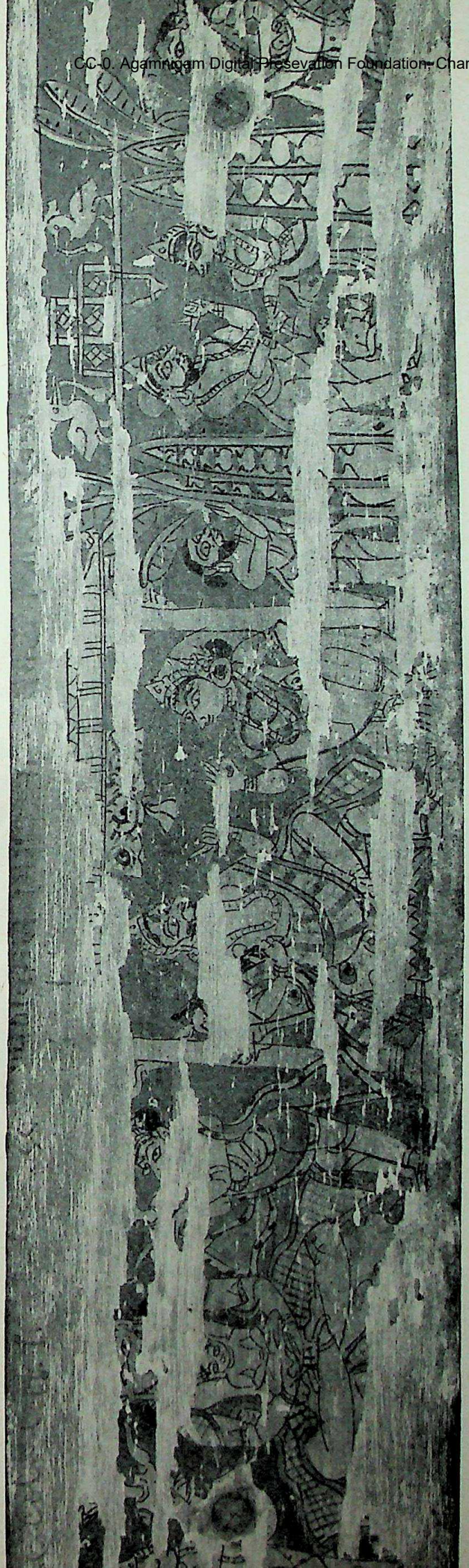

Fig. 207

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Fig. 208

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F

Farajiyāt, gown, 125.

G

Gairika, red ochre, 78.
Gajre kī bel, garland pattern, 113.
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Gohiro nīlo, deep blue, 87.
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Gulālī, carmine, 81.

H

Hairikā, hatching, 97.
Hamsa, geese, 52, 112, 136, 139.
Harābhāṭā, malachite, 83.
Hāra, necklace, 127.
Haritāla, orpiment, 82.
Hastakūrcha, hand brush, 92.
Himakalka, gold-powder, 89.
Hiṅgola, vermilion, 78.
Hurmuzi, a kind of purple, 87.

I

Izār, trousers, 121.

J

Jāmah, coat, 125, 126.
Jambū, 84, 85.
Jangalā, leaves and creepers, 113.
Jātiliṅga, 85.
Jhārī, ewer, 50.
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K

Kaḍā, bangle, 127.
Kāgadpatrāṇi, paper folios, 72.
Kālorīgaṇio, deep purple, 87.
Kamarband, a scarf tied round the waist, 121, 122, 126, 136.
Kalaśa, pinnacle, 28, 49.
Kāmbī, ruler, 74.
Kañchuka, tunic, 22 82, 122.
Kaṅkaṇa, bangles, 127.
Kapittha, elephant apple, 77, 91.
Karṇaphūla, earrings, 127.
Karshakarma, delineation of correct details, 95.
Kartarihasta, gesture of holding symbols, 32.
Kaṭṭhakamma, wood-work, 9.
Kaustubha, Vishnu's Jewel, 163.
Kāyotsarga, standing erect, 65, 153, 157, 161, 162.
Kesario, saffron, 87.
Khaddar, coarse cotton cloth, 46, 48.
Khākī, brown, 86.
Khārika, shade of date palm, 85.
Khaura, sandal-wood paste marks on the forehead, 128.
Kinnara, heavenly musician, 57.
Kirmizī, carmine, 81.
Kishtī, floral scrolls in circles, 113.
Kiṭṭalekhanī, pencil, 91.
Kośika, trousers, 121.
Kṛimdānā, Kermes, 81.
Kshīrasamudra, milky ocean, 152.
Kumuda, lotus, 111.
Kūrcha, brush, 92.

L

Lākhdānā, pīpal resin, 80.
Lākshā-rasa, red lakes, 79.
Lākhīrang, Indian lake, 88.
Lāñchhita, drawn upon, 76.
Latar, rhizome, 113.
Lāzward, lapis lazuli, 81.
Lekhaka, writer, 72.
Lekhanī, sukshmā, madhyā and sthūlā, brush, fine, medium and thick, 92.

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L—*cont.*

Lekhanam, drawing, 95.
Lekhśālā, office, 72.
Lekhyakarma, rapid sketching, 95.
Lepanakūrcha, brush for giving washes, 92.
Lepyakarma, terracotta, 9.
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M

Mahājāl, paper made from fishing nets, 73, 74.
Makra, a fish motif, 11.
Manaḥśilā, realgar, 79.
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Mayūrapichhī, 60.
Miśravarṇa, mixed colours, 84.
Mizār, Jacket, 121.
Mṛdu-rakta, soft red, 78.
Mudrā, gesture, 32, 104.
Mughlī-raṅg, the body colour of a Mughal, 86.
Mukhapattī, a cloth used for covering the mouth by Jain Monks, 146.
Mukuṭa, diadem, 47, 52, 124, 127, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 159, 160, 164.
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N

Nāga, gypsum, 77.
Nag-jawāhar, lozenge and circle, 113, 152.
Nava-graha, nine planets, 47.
Nīla, indigo, 81.
Nilakaṇṭha, blue-necked jay, 111.
Nīlo rang, blue, 87.
Nīm, margosa, 77, 78, 91.
Nirvāṇa, salvation, 142, 144, 145, 163.
Nukhayyar, water-paper, 73.

O

Oṛhnī, veil, 82.

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P

Pachhelī, bracelets, 127.
Padmāsana, a particular mode of sitting, 29, 38, 144, 145.
Pāijāmah, trousers, 53, 124, 155.
Pāṇḍura, pale yellow, 86.
Pañjak, palmate, 113.
Pāśa, noose, 140.
Paṭhānī lodh, lode, 80.
Paṭkā, a decorative scarf attached to the waist, 53, 121, 123, 124, 154, 155, 156.
Pāṭalā, 84.
Patrā, 'leaf' shading, 97.
Peorī, a deep yellow obtained from cow's urine, 83, 86, 87, 99.
Phaggu, spring song, 54.
Phalaka, panel, 46.
Phullā, rosette, 113.
Phulla-vallī, rhizome, 9.
Piṅgala, tawny, 85.
Pistāno raṅg, pistachao green, 86.
Pothī-galī, indigo, 85.
Pothī, red obtained from the berries of the *poī* plant, 80.
Prākāra, compass, 74.
Pramāṇa, correct proportion, 9.
Priyaṅgu, Agalio odorata, 110.
Pūrṇaghaṭa, a sacred vessel, 138.
Pūrṇakalaśa, a sacred vessel, 8, 58, 146.
Pūrṇakumbha, a sacred vessel, 140, 152, 156.
Pustakamma, stucco, 9.

Q

Qaba, a long coat, 126.

R

Rañjita, coloured, 46.
Rājāvartaka, lapis lazuli, 81, 82.
Rekhākarma, correct drawing, 95.
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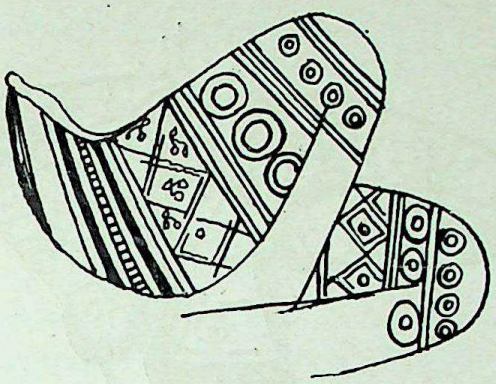

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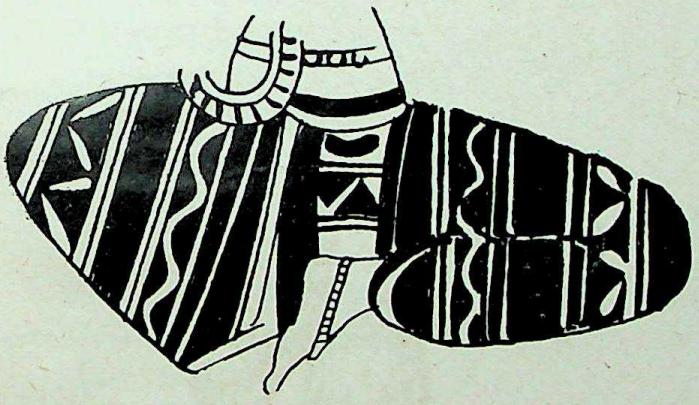

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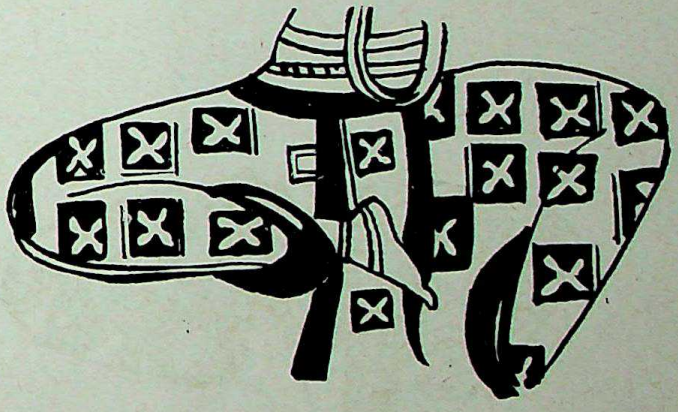

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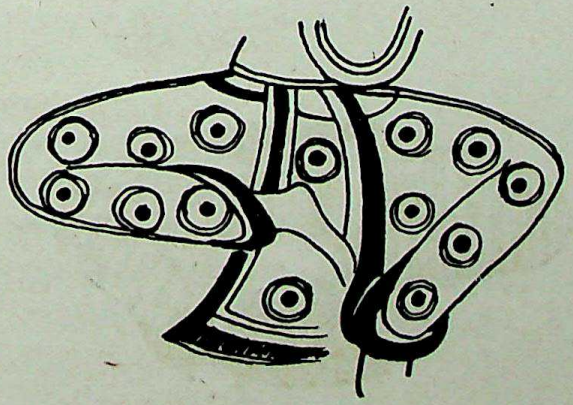

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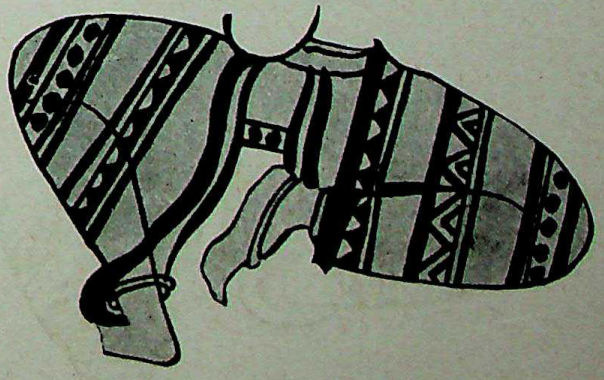

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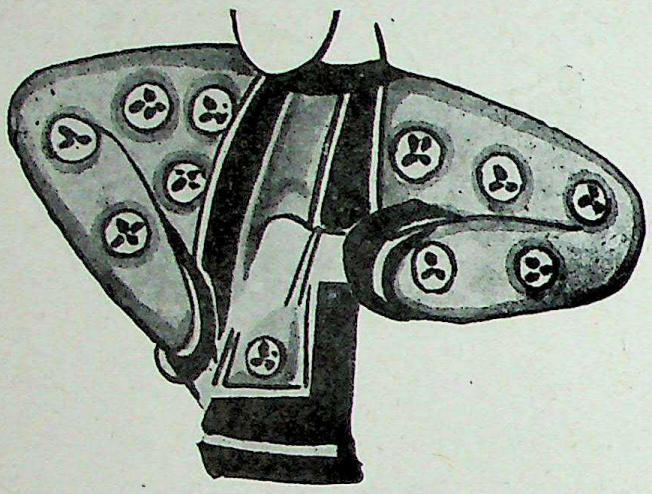

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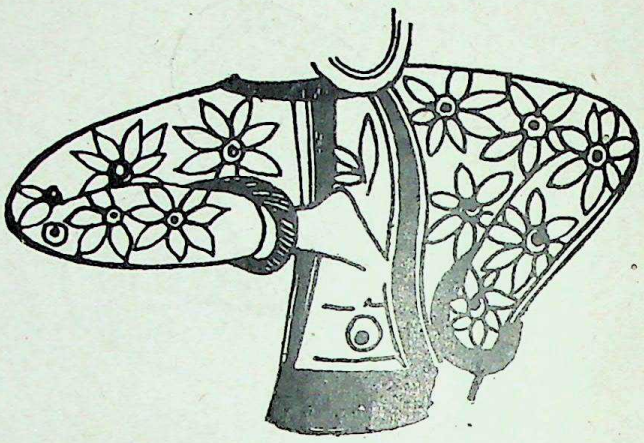

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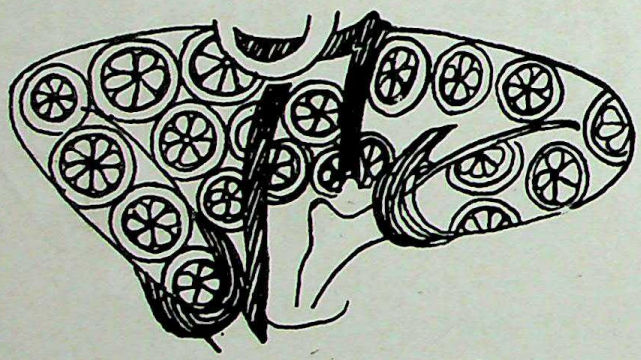

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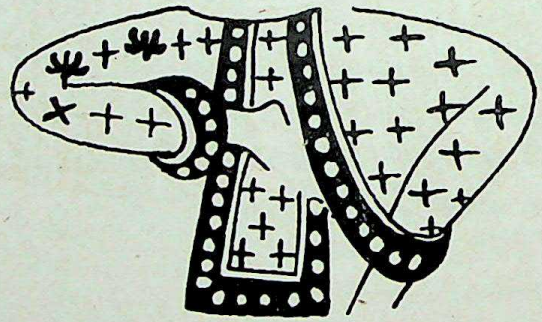

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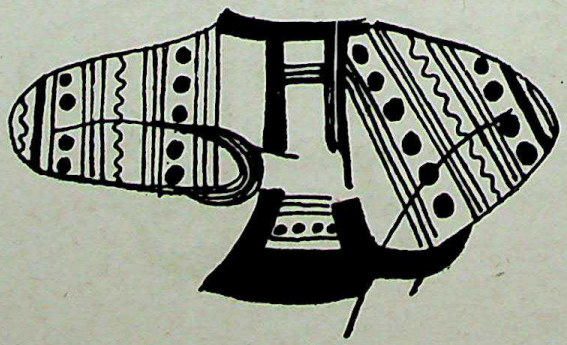

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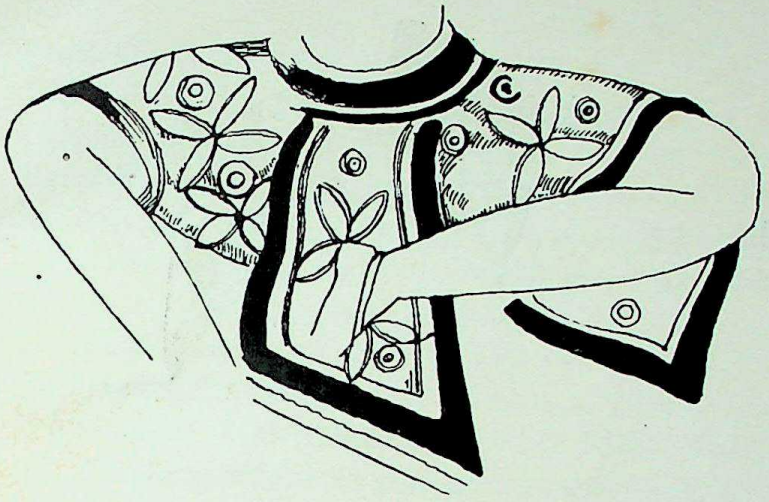

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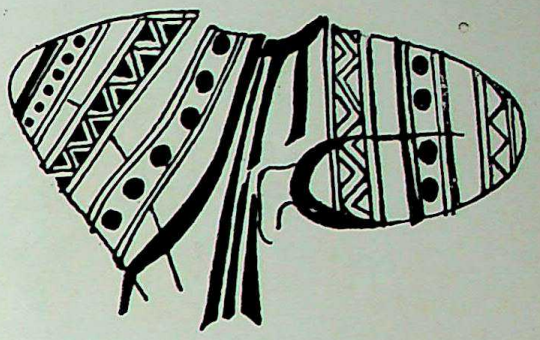

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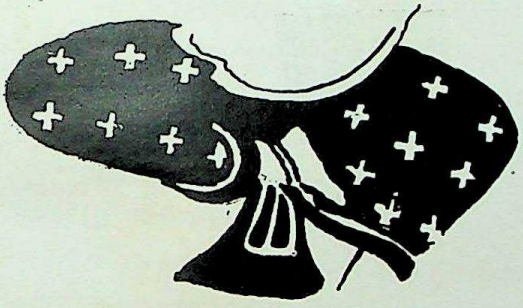

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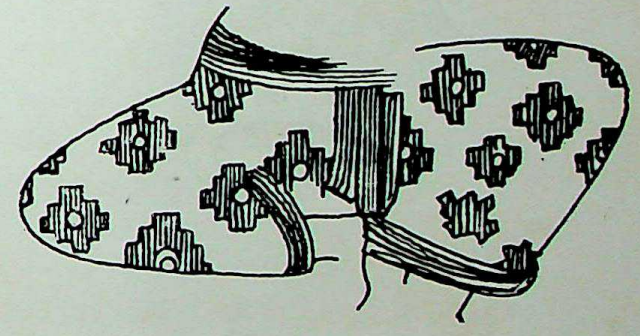

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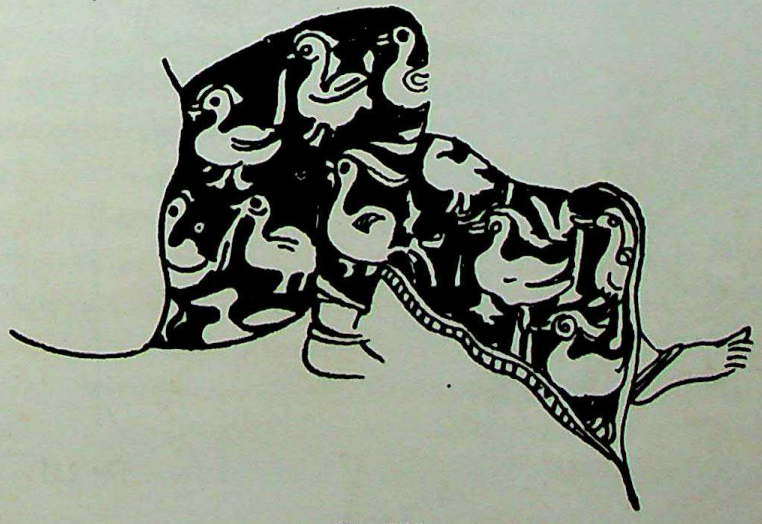

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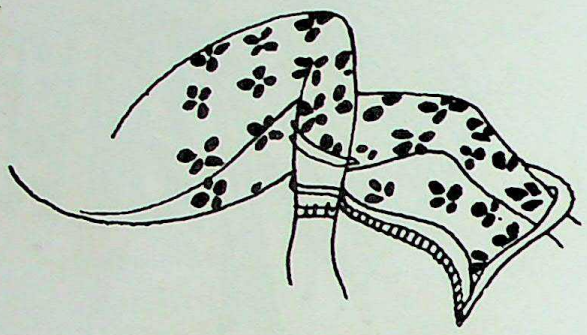

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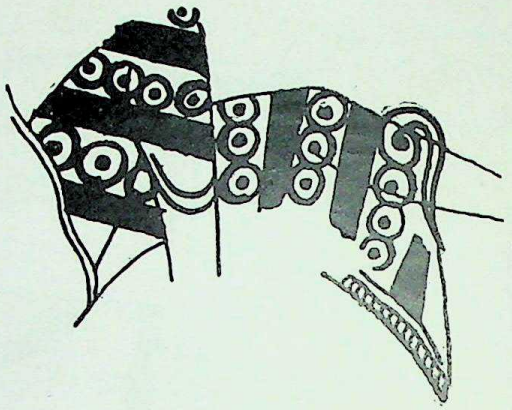

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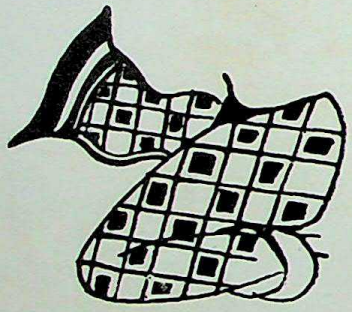

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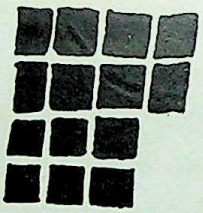

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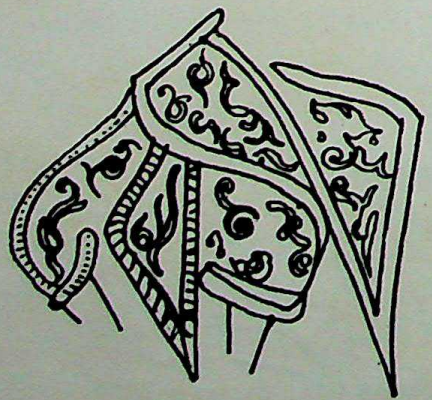

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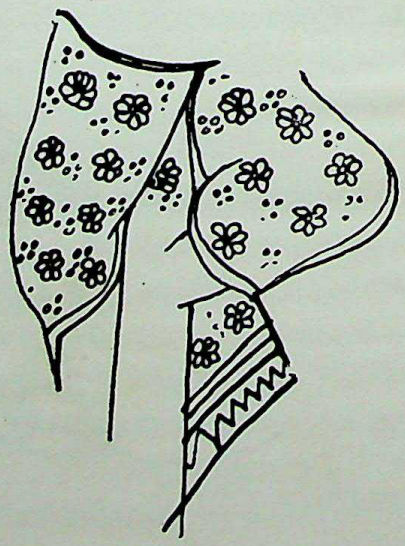

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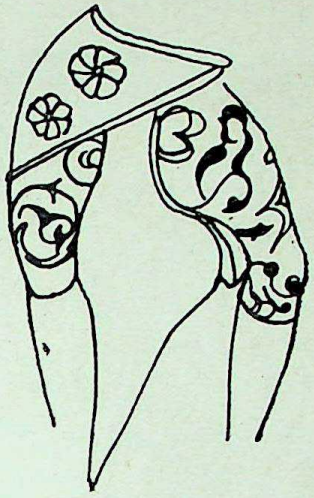

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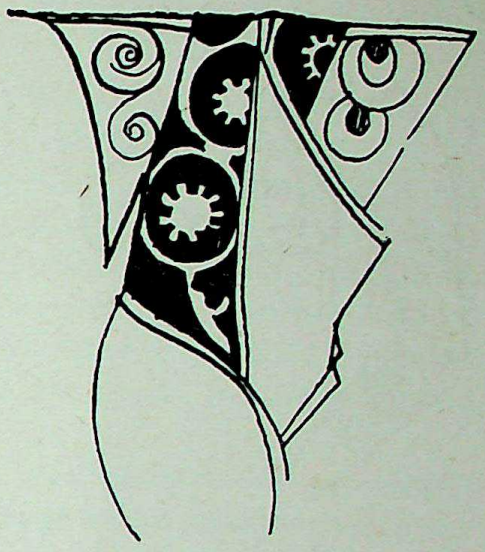

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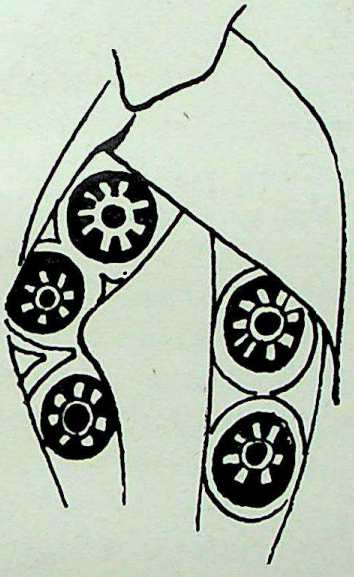

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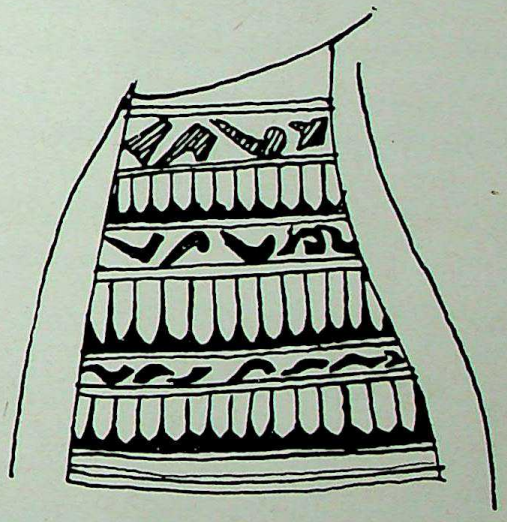

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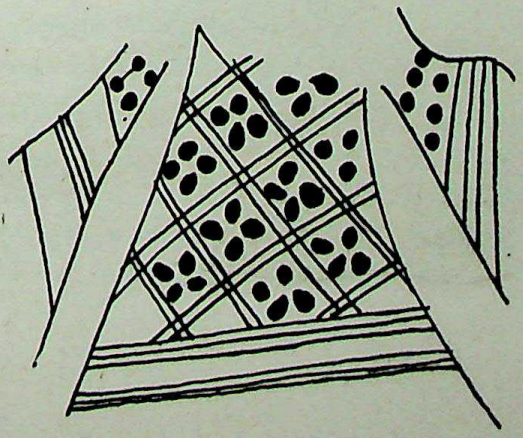

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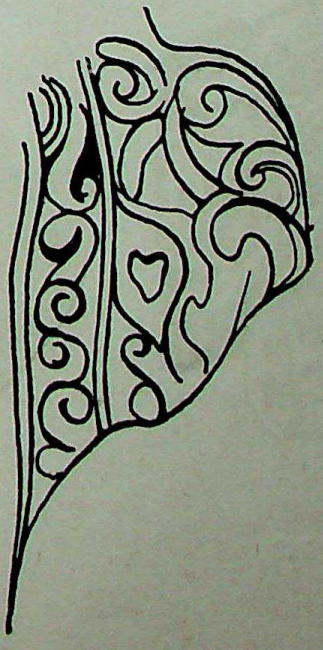

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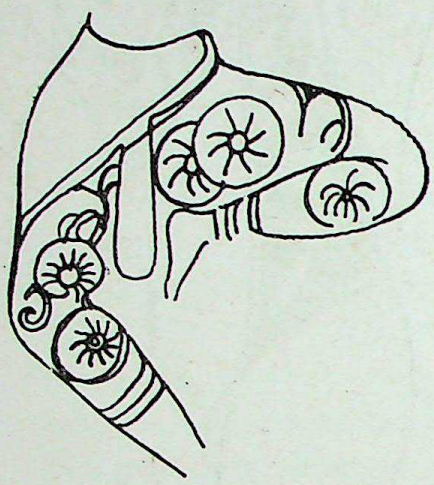

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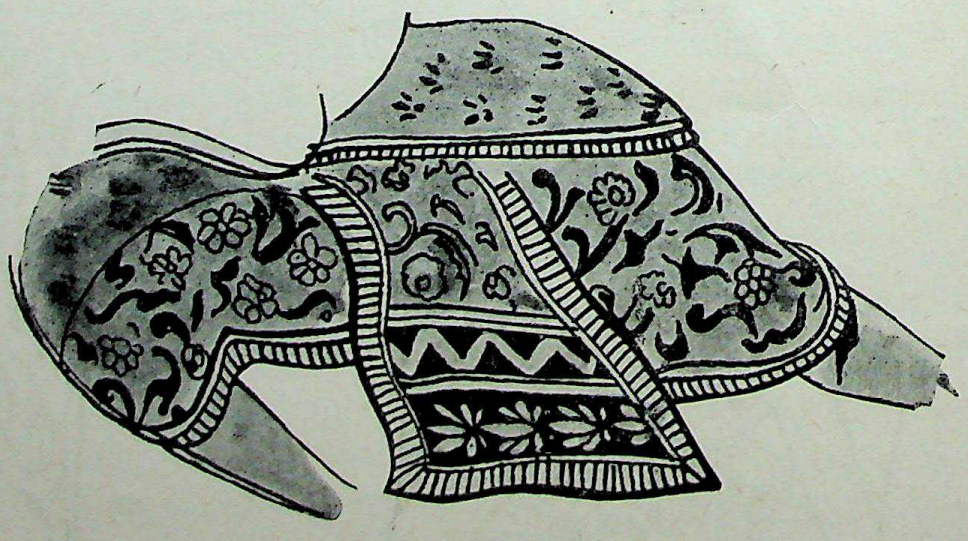

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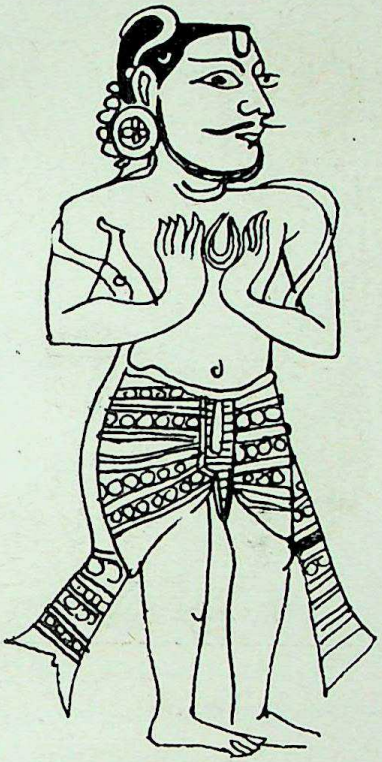

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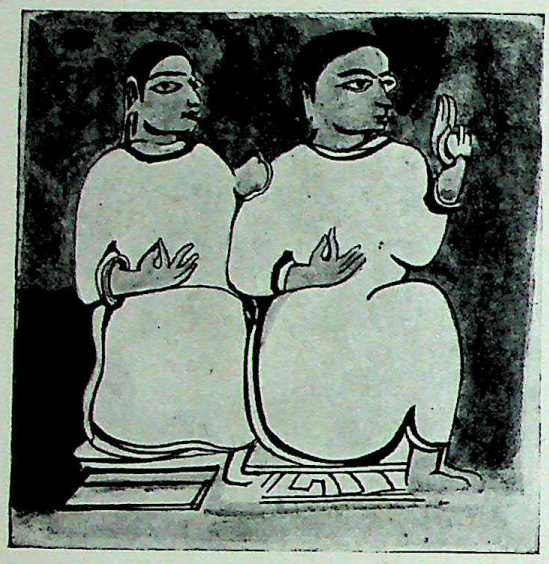

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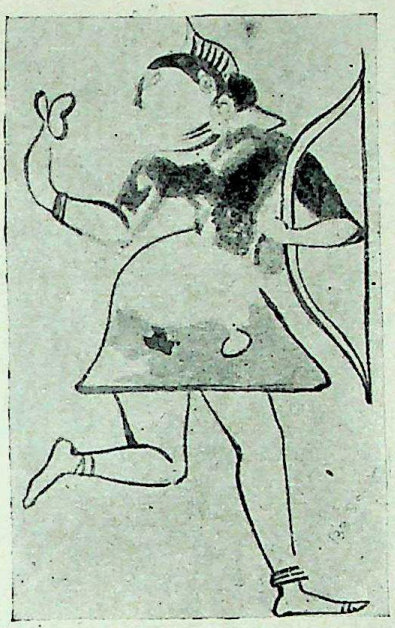

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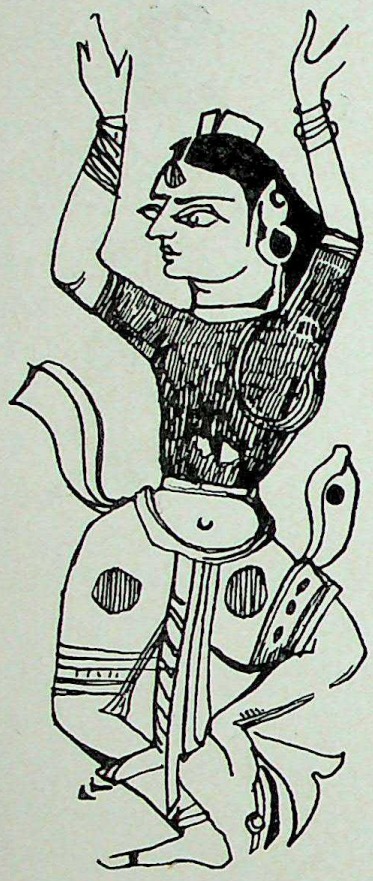

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